THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF

CITIZENSHIP

IN AN ENGLISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

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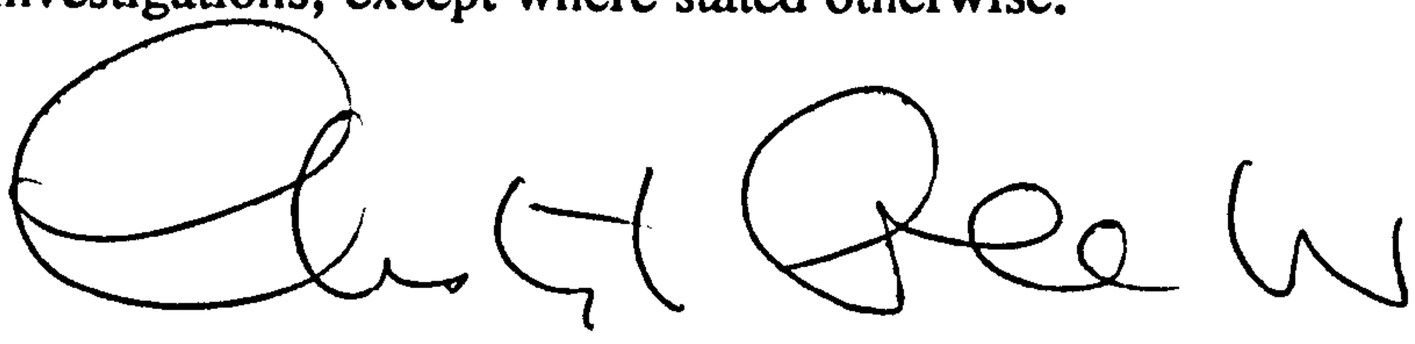
DECLARATION

This dissertation is presented in fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Bristol Doctor of Education programme. I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and is the result of my own investigations, except where stated otherwise.



Christopher John Greenfield

DEDICATION

I would like to use this dedication to express appreciation and gratitude to all those who have helped me complete this Doctor of Education programme. Whilst the heroes and heroines are too numerous to mention everyone by name, I must express special thanks and appreciation to Peter John, my supervisor from the University of Bristol, who turned what might have otherwise been an ordeal into an adventure. For all his cheerful and patient support, guidance and humour, I thank him. I must also express thanks to the many academics who have been so helpful, both in the course of this study and in other parts of the doctorate.

Secondly I must express gratitude to Lesley Cooper and Brian Harvey, of "School C" for their co-operation and efforts in the course of this project. The help they offered went beyond my expectations. I must also thank all the pupils and teachers who helped both by answering my questions and ignoring my presence.

Thirdly I must thank the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who did me the honour of electing me Fellow Commoner for Michelmas Term 1995. The experience of being a Fellow at a Cambridge university college is, in itself, something that I shall always treasure. But the opportunity also gave me a term in which I could complete and write up this dissertation.

The term, however, would not have been possible without the enthusiastic support of the Chairman (Morgan Johnson) and members of Sidcot School's governing body. Their decision to grant me a sabbatical term is typical of the encouragement I have received from them. A

generous grant from the trustees of the Rowntree Reform Trust helped me to meet the additional costs incurred in taking up the sabbatical and in completing this study. I therefore record my gratitude to the trustees.

I also must express my appreciation to Janet Palmer, Denise Bilton and Alison Thomas who turned my scribbled incoherence into such professional orderliness.

My final thanks, to named persons, goes to my wife, Gill, and our children George and Laura. Living without Dad for a full term may have had its advantages; if there were any disadvantages they never once complained about them. To them and everyone else who helped, thank you.

Having completed my thanks may I now dedicate this doctoral dissertation to the memory of Leonard George Greenfield, my father. As will be seen from the introduction to the dissertation, I owe a great deal to him. Just five days before he died, in September 1991, I told him of my intention of enrolling on the Doctorate of Education programme. His response - that it was high time that I got on with working for my Doctorate - has been a great encouragement to me throughout these last four and a half years.

Christopher John Greenfield

June 1996

THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF CITIZENSHIP IN AN ENGLISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

ABSTRACT

While much has been written on the theory and practice of education for citizenship, there appears to be relatively little published work on the outcomes of this aspect of education. After a review of the historical context of education for citizenship, and a review of the relevant literature, the dissertation describes a small ethnographic research project. The project was located in a typical English comprehensive school. The project aimed at describing education for citizenship from three distinct perspectives: a) the policies and aims drawn up by the school as an organisation, b) the views and practice of teachers, and c) the experience and opinions of pupils. The study found that whilst there was coherence in the central policies of the school, this clarity was lost mainly through the inconsistent interpretation and implementation of these policies by teachers. The resulting picture of citizenship attitudes being transmitted to pupils is therefore somewhat confused. Nonetheless the research indicates a weak conception of community responsibilities amongst 13-year-olds, and a generally narrow world-view.

The dissertation concludes by offering some suggestions as to how the research project could have been strengthened, and also how the practice of education for citizenship at the school in question might be made more effective.

THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF CITIZENSHIP

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult, at this stage, to identify precisely where, or how, my interest in citizenship started. By the time I was working as a secondary level English teacher I already felt that moral education and development (and hence developing citizenship attitudes) was a significant part of my task as a teacher. Many possible moral dilemmas can be explored through English literature. But more fundamentally, I believe, as a Quaker, that the visible, livable part of our lives is the most certain indicator of religious or ethical commitment. My interest has been, therefore, for a long time in the idea of community, and how communities can function to allow individuals to enjoy the maximum freedom possible (without encroaching on the freedom of others) and without weakening itself so that community degenerates with anarchy. Latterly, as the head of a Quaker boarding school, I have had plenty of practical situations to test out my vision of citizenship - the role and inter-relationships of individuals within a community.

Yet I was, before becoming a Quaker, already seeking to change society through politics - albeit I was a failed politician. It was, as one friend unkindly put it, not so much that I was a fallen political warrior - it was more that I had never managed to struggle to my feet in the first place! Nonetheless I did serve on a major city council, and on a county council, despite being unsuccessful in each one of my three parliamentary contests. While my political career came to a conclusion when I was only 30 years old, my aim in politics had been to improve society by making it fairer and more just - according to *my* analysis and interpretation of "fair" and "just" - lessening inequalities, strengthening the politically or economically weak, and advocating an ethical approach to political questions.

Even before this political apprenticeship I had been greatly influenced by my family's outlook, especially the views of my father. He was a life-long educator, and spent 25 years of his life as a vigorous local politician, going full time in this area following his retirement as a teacher. By the time of his death in 1991 he had served on no less than five councils at parish, district, borough and finally county levels. It may have been almost literally at the feet of my father, then, that the citizenship project which forms the basis for this assignment originated. At least I can say that my broad interest in individuals and society can be traced back to those views. My father had strong ideas about how societies should operate, and expressed the view that society was not necessarily developing in a way that was wholly satisfactory. He particularly regretted what he perceived as an increasing tendency of individuals to abandon responsibilities, and even to abandon some of their rights, in order to have an "untroubled" private life. He warned that this could lead to everyone leaving everything to everybody else!

When I look back on the example that my father set, the more certain I am that he is responsible for much of my social and political outlook. He took his social and political responsibilities seriously, and gave a great deal to the community. As an active sportsman he played cricket until he was much too old, and then became the life president of the cricket club, continuing to play a different, but still active, part. He helped set up and lead the local village youth club, and then for years helped run a local club for mentally handicapped adolescents. As a part of his involvement in the local political process he helped govern local schools, and took a leading part in other local social service activities. He ran a weekly village whist drive for many years, but he also became chairman of the county council social services committee. And so it goes on. I wonder that I have so many memories of him at home, but he also took these duties seriously.

With a background like this, it may be surprising that I should be interested in investigating *school* influences on citizenship attitudes. I have two main reasons for this: firstly I believe that my schooling, in underscoring and developing ideas I had "caught" from my father, did play an important role in shaping my world view. Secondly, schools are institutions set up by society, and should serve the good of society. They represent the only systematic structures society has for corporately communicating its ideas to tomorrow's citizens. Traditionally this structure has conveyed society's values and morality, as will be shown in Chapter One. While schools can legitimately argue that the concept of citizenship is essentially contestable, a provisional definition appropriate to our age and our society can probably be agreed in broad terms. The most recent attempt to do so (The Speakers Commission on Citizenship, 1991) harked back to the 1950's with Marshall's lengthy description, but this represents a definition with which I am reasonably content. It at least represents an outline against which citizenship attitudes being provided by schools may be checked. Dr Tate (1996a) of the English School Curriculum and Assessment Authority caused feathers to fly when he criticised relativism as an approach to moral education (with its obvious linkage to citizenship) earlier this year. Yet the moral autonomy that most of his critics advocated must be set in some contemporary context, not in a moral vacuum, and a generally agreed definition of citizenship could provide such a context.

At another recent conference, in November 1995, her Majesty's Inspector of Schools (HMI), David Trainor gave details of some recent research which had been carried out for the Scottish HMIs. The research shows, amongst other things, that parents do not rate the communication of citizenship knowledge or skills by schools very highly when compared with "traditional" subjects like English and Mathematics. However, very few parents themselves bother to

communicate citizenship concepts to their children, because they consider this to be part of the school's responsibility!

This could be a missing link of citizenship. Perhaps schools are not doing what parents, or society, believe that they are/should be doing: actively developing citizenship attitudes amongst our young people. And so the project to investigate precisely what *is* going on in a typical English comprehensive school came about.

What about citizenship itself? The concept encompasses both responsibilities and rights, and is about the sort of balance that needs to be struck between these two, perhaps contradictory, notions.

The vision of citizenship I hold draws on both the liberal-individualistic *and* the civic-republican traditions both as defined by Oldfield (1990b). As a political liberal I had expected to find myself in sympathy with a liberal definition of citizenship: a long struggle to liberate individuals from unnecessary state and other repression or restraint, and for the increase of the individual's power within, or (through the ballot box) over the state. The equal opportunity of each citizen to enjoy his or her rights, and the ability to make the most of his or her life, have also always been important principles for me. Heater (1992) ascribes all these characteristics to the liberal tradition of citizenship. However, Heater also goes on to explain Oldfield's civic-republican tradition in a way which commands considerable sympathy from me: Heater claims that the Greek-Roman conception of citizenship was of a set of duties, "borne with pride" (Heater 1992: 22). This republican vision of citizenship is far more pro-active than the liberal, which is in many ways re-active. In the republican tradition society is

seen as something which depends on the contribution of the citizens, rather than it being an abstract entity which may be exploited by individuals for what it has to offer them.

The danger of this civic-republican approach to citizenship is that, taken to extreme, loyalty to the "state" might replace loyalty to "society", and then become obsessional or fanatical. Laying down one's life for the state, especially in uniform, is something about which, as a Quaker, I would have some hesitation. A patriotism which denies the worth of citizens of other nations is also a less wholesome possible development from a citizen's commitment to his or her own society.

Nonetheless the idea of a commitment to giving something to society is very attractive to me. Heater (1992: 23) puts it thus:

> True citizens [in the republican tradition] place the performance of such [civic] duties at the very top of their list of priorities. Time and energy must be found for these commitments, before hobbies, even perhaps before one's family.

Whilst, from a liberal perspective, I would say that putting the needs of society above *every* other interest is unrealistic and unnecessary, the citizenship pendulum has perhaps swung too far towards the liberal-individualistic direction at present. A conventional contemporary definition of "rights" would probably include the right to "opt out" of *any* commitment to society. If that option is taken up by many "citizens" it would mean that society would be transformed and could fall under the control of a minority or face other dangers.

Over the short period during which I have worked on this doctorate there has been a further shift away from involvement in one central aspect of our society - politics. Opinion polls

conducted by MORI for the Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust in 1991 and 1995 showed a significant swing away from an interest in the political process especially amongst young people. In the youngest category surveyed (the 18 to 24 year olds) interest in politics dropped over the four years from 54% recorded in 1991 to just 40% in 1995.

In the hope that this decline is not irreversible, and that the concept of citizenship could be nudged back towards the active, participative mode of the civic republican tradition, I have wondered what role schools might play. Indeed, from a belief that schools *can* do something (see Chapter Two) the question arose of what, if any, impact are schools having on pupils' citizenship attitudes at present. It is within this personal context that the project described in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation took shape. I hope that it will throw some light on the present practices in education for citizenship, and suggests some ways in which these practices can be made more effective.

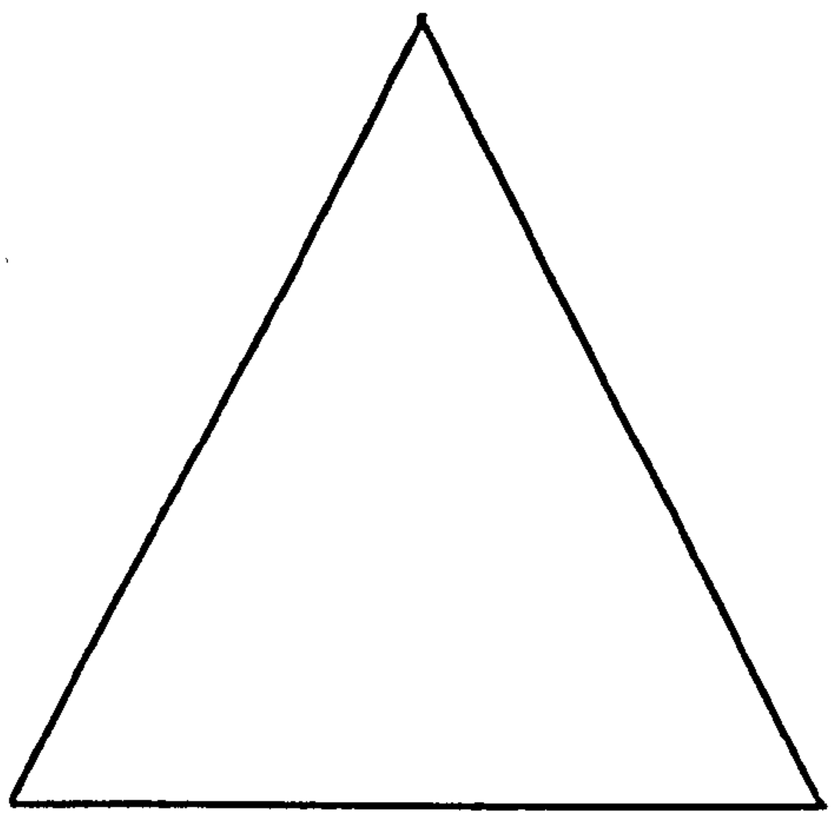
I have used the expression "citizenship attitudes" which I think conveys my main concern in this research. It is not just the rational, cognitive, knowledge based aspects of citizenship in which I think schools have a significant part to play. It is my belief that the non-rational, affective and volitional aspects are actually more important, and it is these aspects which I have been particularly keen to explore. It takes inclination as well as know-how to function as a participative citizen in the civic-republican mode, and without some citizen participation, the foundations of western liberal democracy will crumble. The balance of these aspects has been noted by organisations like the Citizenship Foundation, whose citizenship triangle is reproduced as Figure 1.

Figure 1

THE CITIZENSHIP TRIANGLE

ACTION

- for self
- for others



FEELINGS

- emotions (love, hate)
- care, loyalty
- about self
- prejudices

KNOWLEDGE

- facts (rights, duties)
- understanding
- personal "world views"
- analytical skills
- view of self

THE NON RATIONAL

THE RATIONAL

(The Citizenship Foundation, 1993)

Getting the facts of citizenship into the curriculum may not be as easy for individual schools as might have been the case in pre-national curriculum days. The curriculum is nevertheless, a more straightforward organisational task than is creating the right ethos in the school. There are several areas of the school curriculum through which it was anticipated by the architects of the national curriculum that the "theme" of citizenship would be taught - including English, History, Geography, RE, PSE and others. So the possibility for teaching citizenship knowledge is there in all English Secondary Schools.

The teaching, or perhaps it would be more helpful to talk about the "fostering" or "encouraging" of positive citizenship attitudes, however, is far more problematic. Indeed this aspect takes us to one of the most contested areas of the whole notion of citizenship. It is a concept for which there is no "final rational solution" (Carr 1991: 373), and nor should we expect there to be. It is a concept whose proper use depends on political analysis, and analyses will legitimately differ within and between social organisations. While a core meaning of the concept has been distilled by T H Marshall (1950) (who is quoted later in this dissertation), the precise nature of rights and responsibilities of citizens in any particular society will be ambiguous and open to debate.

I therefore should nail my own colours to this mast. My vision of active citizenship is linked to my belief that "we can re-create the decent, tolerant liberal society for which this country used to be famous", and that "we can re-build a spirit of community and civic pride in our society". These quotes are taken from the text of a speech by the leader of the Liberal Democrats (Paddy Ashdown MP) in late January 1996. I believe that while these sentiments

would not only be endorsed by adherents to Ashdown's political party, they are essentially political and they do represent part of my vision of active citizenship.

To achieve this aim requires more than simply equipping young people with civic knowledge: at the very least it also means equipping them with the inclination to seek an active role in society. If we are to aim at this, do most English schools provide a useful "apprenticeship" for tomorrow's citizens? "The building of an active participative democracy of citizens can and does begin in early life. It is built in psychological well-being, in people with high self-esteem, who can debate, who are positive, rise to challenges and resolve differences peacefully. It requires the skills of listening, communicating, empathising and affirming" (Humphreys 1996: 3). How do our secondary comprehensive schools measure up to this manifesto? Are schools helping to re-build society and family life which are central to Etizioni's (1993) communitarian vision? Do schools enhance and affirm the importance of trust in social relationships, a pivotal point in the analyses of successful economies offered by Fukuyama (1995) and Puttnam (1993), as suggested by Smith (1996)?

Could the triumph of the liberal approach to citizenship in western societies be now undermining society itself? "Greater individualism instead of fostering responsbility may make people even more selfish; less willing to sacrifice their personal freedom for the collective good, more mindful of their rights and less willing to accept their wider social responsibilities" (Wilkinson and Mulgan 1995: 108). If this is the case, are schools attempting to socialise pupils into a structure which challenges these trends? Do schools offer pupils the model of a society where their views are requested or required and valued? Is participation of pupils invited or expected in decisions which affect their lives and the lives of those around them?

What kind of society is being modelled by teachers in the classroom? What do pupils themselves believe their role to be in the society which is represented by school?

I was very fortunate to be able to pursue these questions through an intensive study of one particular school, using an ethnographic methodology. The school has in its policy documents a very positive view of active citizenship for pupils. It is perhaps a measure of the scale of the challenge to education for citizenship that the outcomes, even in a school officially committed to encouraging active citizenship attitudes, should be as diffuse and confused as this project found.

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

Education for citizenship begs the question of what is meant by "citizenship"? Concepts of citizenship vary according to the society and the century in which they originate. The historical development of citizenship will be touched on again later in this dissertation but at this stage, however, "citizenship" will be taken to mean the individual's role in the liberal-democratic society of late 20th century Britain and western Europe. Although arbitrary, such a definition adopts a pragmatic position: an idea that will be developed in later parts of this chapter. The continuation of this liberal-democratic form of society will depend on a commitment from the citizens of the future through active participation, support of the interlinked values of political freedom, toleration and cultural diversity. Future citizens will also need to show an unwillingness to accept injustice and have a sympathy with the rights both of majorities and minorities. It is inevitable, of course, that society will not continue precisely in its present form. It will change as certainly as its membership will change. Society is in a real sense the product of its members and however well or poorly they live up to classical ideas of liberal democratic citizenship is bound to determine what kind of society they, in turn, experience. It is a chicken and egg question, or two sides of the same coin. Society will influence citizenship ideas by the demands, or lack of demands, that it places on its members; the robust exercise of citizenship's rights and duties will also have a major impact on the kind of society these citizens create.

The concept of citizenship is therefore contestable. When the distinguished members of the Speakers Commission on citizenship started work in 1989 they found it to be so when they considered attempting a definition of citizenship. In the end they moved to the security of T H Marshall's 1950 definition, part of which is as follows:

> Citizenship is a status bestowed on all who are full members of the community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which that status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what these rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed (p28). Citizenship requires ... a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession. It is a loyalty of free men endowed with rights and protected by common law. Its growth is stimulated by the struggle to win those rights and their enjoyment when won (p40).

The education offered in schools has been one of the ways in which an "image of ideal citizenship" has been framed. It is the link between school education and citizenship attitudes which this dissertation will explore. There are, without doubt, many other sources which influence a young adult's views of what is expected of her by the community, and of what she should expect from society. The home is probably the most important of these influences. Children have usually acquired very strong ideas of morality, and firm behaviour patterns well before schooling starts eg Piaget (1932) or Kohlberg (1981 and 1984). More recently Cullingford (1990: 29) put it: "The fact that children remember and interpret what they observe from an early age is demonstrated in the way in which they will surprise us years later, in their more articulate days, with details they can only have experienced before their ability to communicate." Media images, especially television, also have their part to play, especially in shaping prejudices about what kind of place the world beyond the home is, and how they should act when they join that world (Cullingford, 1990). Downey and Kelly (1978)

identify six major influences on the moral development of children, including schools and the media. In addition they attribute influence to parents, siblings, peer group and "others" like the Church etc.

For most youngsters, school is usually the first organized society outside the home which they experience. As their first example of a carefully constructed wider community, with its values, rewards and sanctions, it is likely to be a powerful example to the child as to how she should behave in a wider society. In this sense, as Barr (1994) argues, whatever is taught at these schools, and more particularly the underlying way in which it is taught teaches children citizenship, good or bad. Whether or not the school has considered the kind of citizenship attitudes which it wishes to convey to its pupils, the school will be teaching and the pupils will be learning citizenship attitudes.

Origins of Education for Citizenship

The themes outlined above will be returned to later. In this section the more conscious efforts to influence citizenship through education will be explored, and the historical roots of education for citizenship will be traced up to the present day.

The roots of education for citizenship clearly go back a long way. Brennan (1981), for example, puts the origins of this form of education with Plato. A Mesopotamian cuneiform text, presently in the British Museum, on the other hand records the sorry tale of a scholar being beaten by the teacher for arriving late and then "looking about" and not paying attention in class. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this form of discipline was allowed within schools because it reflected the rules of discipline which wider society upheld. It is likely that

a lesson such as this would convey to the pupils concerned strong messages about the respect and deference due to authority in that society.

However, since research has so far failed to unearth the principles on which Mesopotamian education were founded, Brennan may be right in his assertion that Plato's Republic contains the oldest surviving curriculum plan linked to preparing children for adult citizenship. The plan, in fact, suggested four levels of citizenship linked to the roles in society for which education would prepare pupils. The overall aim would be to produce adults who would be satisfied with their lot, obedient to the law and comfortable in a well ordered society (Plato, ed Cornford, 1945).

The role described for education in the *Republic* emphasises one which is now commonly accepted: that education attempts to convey to pupils the values of the political and social order of the society in which it is located or which it seeks to locate. Other philosophers and social theorists such as Sir Thomas More have also made clear links between education and the structure of society. In his *Utopia,* More advocated the indoctrination of children with attitudes which would make them sympathetic to the "common good" as well as obedient to society's laws (ed Collins, 1965). The *Social Contract* of J. J. Rousseau (1762) needed the support of a similar kind of indoctrination (or guidance) of the young. In other writings he stated more clearly that he believed that education of the young had an important part in shaping society *(Emile, 1762).*

The writings of Plato, More and Rousseau thus quite deliberately sought to harmonize the instructions given to the young with the aims and values of the particular society of their

vision. Some, including the present writer, would argue whether or not it is overtly stated and premeditated, the education organised within any society is likely to reflect the values of that contextual community. Bernard Crick (1977) put it thus:

> To say that education reflects the value of the political and social order is, to my mind, a truism, something true for all societies, not a dramatic unmasking of bourgeois-capitalist society.

Crick would have been unmoved by the social reconstructionist perspective of Apple (1985), for example, who argued (following his study of social problems in England, France and the USA) that the educational and cultural system was exceptionally important as an element in the maintenance of existing relations of domination and exploitation in western society. Bowles and Gintis (1976) asserted that one of the principle aims of education is to pass on the values of the dominant group in society. Brennan (1981: 5) estimated that 10% of the time devoted to the preparation of primary school teachers in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was devoted to "political and ideological studies", including the history of the Communist party, Marxism and Leninism. The end of the Communist domination of eastern Europe since 1990 indicates that there are limits to the extent that society may be shaped through the educational process. This is a theme which will be examined in more detail later.

Nineteenth Century England

In England the move to popular, or universal education in the 19th century was often seen as being linked to citizenship in some ways. For example, after the 1867 Reform Act, which had (almost accidentally) extended the franchise to a million members of the skilled working class, Robert Lowe urged an extension of education. "We must educate our masters", seemed to be Parliament's view when agreeing the 1870 Education Act which established a national structure

for elementary schooling. Earlier Lowe had argued, in 1867, that "working men as such might be excluded from the franchise on account of their moral and intellectual unfitness" (quoted in Ottway 1957: 60).

Nonetheless the curriculum of 1870 did not include a specific citizenship education content, the belief being that greater literacy would lead to greater maturity in political matters for the future citizens who were then being educated. Up to 1870, of course, most elementary schools had been provided by the churches and the spiritual background of these schools provided a clear set of values which would have given citizenship guidance to pupils, even though it would not have been given that name. Gladstone, the prime minister at the time of the 1870 Education Act favoured, according to Jenkins (1995: 322) increasing grants to the churches (including Roman Catholic) and allowing priests full access to any new state schools ("board" schools) to provide full doctrinal instructions for children of their own adherence. He believed that "simple education should be for piety, as much as knowledge". Since all religions include advice on how one should live, in a practical sense, to be consistent with the theological requirements of the particular sect, this would have included guidance on citizenship.

Even if Gladstone was not enthusiastic for his own Education Act, the vice president of the privy council committee responsible for education, W. E. Forster, emphasised the link between education and the control of Parliament, which was at that time passing to a much wider electorate, away from the hands of a small proportion of the population (Maclure, 1965).

The views of Forster may not have been widely held. Gladstone, as mentioned above, saw the Education Act as one of the burdens rather than one of the joys of his first premiership (Jenkins 1995: 326), and others accepted the act merely because improved education was linked to the idea of the development of a more economically valuable workforce. Compulsory education was accepted because it was industrially and commercially necessary, but fears that the extension of education would lead to an excess of egalitarianism remained. This thinking was reflected in the heavy emphasis on duty and deference which characterised the content and method of the education subsequently provided (Brennan, 1981: 33).

After the 1870 Education Act two systems of education existed alongside each other in the United Kingdom. Then, as now, there was both state and private provision of education. The state provision was made through the "board" schools or the largely state-funded church schools. Private schools, including the historic "public" schools were self financing. As the state, at this stage, only provided elementary education up to the age of 11, parents who wished children to receive education beyond that age had generally to be in a position to be able to afford it.

The two forms of schooling available, state and private, unsurprisingly had different approaches to citizenship education. On the one hand the state schools according to Lawton and Dufour (1973) taught "Civics" which emphasised deference. On the other hand, private schools educated children who by definition came from better off backgrounds. These schools helped prepare pupils without explicit political education, to assume leadership roles in society. These approaches could be characterised, at the risk of being a caricature, as being the citizenship qualities required of those who were ruled, and the citizenship of attitudes required

for those who would be the rulers. As Brennan (1981: 35) says of those educated at the state-provided schools:

> Theirs was an education in conformity to establish norms and deference to a social and political elite which the public (i.e. private) schools, in large measure, helped to produce.

History shows, however, that whatever the powers at its disposal, "the state" has rarely been able to maintain the political *status quo* for very long. As we have seen, the trend in political development in society in the late 19th century was sometimes used as a justification for improving education. Nonetheless, increased literacy coupled with an inexorable widening of the franchise really meant that the idea that working people would support and give succour to a system which to them was unfair and unjust, was doomed. Both the French Revolution and the American War of Independence had demonstrated what popular power could achieve in the late eighteenth century and both had their impact in England (Thompson, 1968). Movements such as the Chartists in England in the early nineteenth century took up similar challenges to the political status quo by attempting to rally "people power" to force changes in the British constitution.

Whereas Gladstone could rely on "the grace of God and the greed of man" to operate his *laissez-fair* economic policy, the "indulgence of God and the ambition of politicians" would mean that democracy would inevitably challenge ideas of deference and the old order. Even though the democracy of the United Kingdom in the late 19th century was still limited, after 1867 the electorate was numbered in millions. However hard state education might try to encourage deference and conformity there would always be some aspiring political leaders who would present differing analyses, partly from ideological conviction, but also (and equally

legitimately in a democracy) from motives of personal ambition. The development of citizenship attitudes, and the evaluation of differing political analyses would obviously take place at differing stages of personal maturity.

Civics lessons in elementary schools, however, were evidently not adequate for some who were concerned about the development of citizenship attitudes amongst pupils. Civics might take care of the cognitive, knowledge-orientated aspects of citizenship, but there was also the moral dimension, that concerned with values and attitudes. There was, indeed, considerable attention devoted to "moral training" aspects of education in the late 19th century, and some of those interested in this formed the Moral Instruction League. This organisation attempted to influence the curriculum of schools as one of its aims. In 1904 some of its recommendations were included in the official Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools. For example,

> History, which should include in the lower classes the lives of great men and women, and the lessons to be learned therefrom, and in the higher classes a knowledge of the great persons and events of English history and of the growth of the British Empire. The teaching may not be limited to English or British history, and lessons on citizenship may be given with advantage in the higher class.

This first documented call for specific lessons on citizenship was in contrast to the general approach taken in the 19th century, which was the hope that good citizens would be produced by indirect routes such as by improving standards of literacy, or through religious and moral instruction.

The Twentieth Century

The First World War "brought home the arguments for studying history both on the civic and international side in a way never possible before." (Batho, 1990:93). Helen Madeley (1920:14) saw history as an ideal vehicle for citizenship studies, if taught empathetically:

> The best safeguard of civic virtue is the power of sympathetic insight. We must develop an imagination so compelling that we cannot evade realisation of the sentiency of every other human being if we are to be safe from the lethargy which perpetrates the social ills, and from the selfishness or stupidity which originate them. (p14)

The Board of Education itself suggested in 1927 that history was for children "pre-eminently an instrument of moral training". If history was brought to life for children, then:

> Without any laboured exhortations they will feel the splendour of heroism, the worth of unselfishness and loyalty, and the meanness of cruelty and cowardice; and the influence of their lessons in history will be at work long after the information imparted to them has been forgotten. (p139)

Some attempts to bring history to life in the early years of the twentieth centry involved a departure from the "great tradition" of history teaching discussed by Sylvester (1993). The attempts, such as the use of source material (Keating, 1910), appeared to meet with little success until much later in the century.

By the mid 1920s, faced with the rise of totalitarianism in Europe, some British intellectuals were exercising their minds over how the educational system could help preserve democratic ideas. The Labour Party, in a report edited by R H Tawney (1925) called for free secondary education for all to help "rebuild the ruins" (p147) of society left after the First World War. Another response was the creation, in 1934, of the Association for Education in Citizenship

which was supported by educationalists but also by political figures such as Sir Ernest (later Lord) Simon and Sir William Beveridge.

In one of the publications sponsored by the association (1935:9-10) Simon wrote that a citizen in a democracy must possess:

1. A deep concern for the freedom and good life of his fellows.
2. Such knowledge and power of clear thinking as will enable him to form sound judgments as to the main problems of politics and to decide wisely which party will be the most likely to achieve the ends he desires.
3. The power to select men of wisdom, integrity, and courage as public representatives, and such knowledge of his own limitations as will dispose him to trust and follow his chosen leaders.

The association did not take a position on whether citizenship education should be a separate school subject. W H Haddow (1935), in his preface to the same publication, for example said that every subject had its part to play, along with extra-curricular activities.

The two methods of approaching citizenship education (direct, or through a cross-curricular strategy) have parallels in the two aspects of citizenship education (cognitive and affective) which have been highlighted earlier. The four qualities identified by Simon as being necessary for a citizen in a democratic society include both knowledge and attitudes. The first three were concerned with attitudes and values, and only the fourth concerned knowledge. These two aspects of citizenship education are complementary. Neither provides a complete syllabus for citizenship education unless the other is included, but they may need very different teaching strategies. Conveying the knowledge of the structures of the state may lend itself to a separate subject slot on the timetable. The danger with that approach is that it risks, according to Professor Dennis Lawton being "boring" (Lawton, 1995). The other aspect of citizenship

education, the affective as opposed to cognitive, is perhaps better taught through other subjects, and even through non-academic forms and structures, such as the schools' disciplinary code, the quality of staff-pupil relationships, and the society which is modelled by staff and senior pupils for the rest of the school. In a democracy the attitudes and values which ought to be encouraged include challenging the *status quo*, and learning how to change things. Through empowering, not just informing pupils, the second aspect of citizenship education runs the risk (again according to Professor Lawton) of being considered "subversive".

The debate continued. In the 1930s the government backed away from too enthusiastic a commitment to citizenship education, even in the face of European challenge to democracy. The Association for Education in Citizenship itself became ineffective in a futile attempt to look less like a Labour and Liberal inspired organisation. The 1938 Spens Report was, partly as a result of the enfeeblement of the association, antithetical to the original objectives of the association, advocating history and geography as the best vehicles for raising the political awareness of pupils and improving political sophistication on the part of the nation's school leavers.

A further step away from the strategies for citizenship education advanced by the Association came in 1943 in the Norwood report. Despite paying lip service to the idea of preparation for citizenship in schools, the report almost warned teachers away from the idea of education for citizenship at the elementary level:

> Nothing but harm can result, in our opinion, from attempts to influence pupils prematurely in matters which imply the experience of an adult - immediate

> harm to the pupil from forcing of interest, harm in the long run to the purpose in view of his unfavourable reaction ... (p57)
>
> (p57)

Public affairs lessons for sixth formers and fifth formers were, however, given a benediction and the report made reference to the importance of what would now be called school "ethos" or "climate" in shaping citizenship ideas.

> The most valuable influence for developing that sense of responsibility without which any amount of sheer information is of little benefit is the general spirit and outlook of the school - what is sometimes called the "tone" of the school.
>
> (p49)

After the second world war interest in citizenship education seems to have declined, although a pamphlet was published by the Ministry of Education in 1949 which urged schools to promote qualities of citizenship such as humility, service, restraint and respect for personality. All these qualities were to be encouraged through the schools' existing curriculum, not through a specific citizenship curriculum, despite the guidance issued in 1947 which had suggested a possible syllabus for citizenship studies (Ministry of Education 1947: 15). Given the qualities listed as appropriate for citizens in 1949 it was evident that the 19th century "civics" approach to citizenship had still not totally disappeared.

However, the post-war period did not ignore citizenship education totally. The work of F. C. Happold in Salisbury before the war had been made accessible through his book *Citizens in the Making* (Happold, 1935). A number of schools adopted his ideas on integrated courses of history, geography and civics after the second world war. Another significant, but short lived, group was the Council for Curriculum Reform (which had grown out of the old Association for Education in Citizenship). The report on *The Content of Education* which it published in 1945 was not immediately influential partly because curriculum matters had been passed to

individual education authorities (and usually through them to the individual schools) by the 1944 Education Act.

The Nineteen Sixties and Seventies

The upsurge in interest in social studies in the 1960s has been traced back to the work of the Council for Curriculum Reform by Lawton and Dufour (1973). There was also, undoubtedly, a transatlantic link through the influence of those like Edwin Fenton (1966). The British Association for Teaching the Social Sciences was founded in 1963 explicitly to foster teaching of the social sciences in schools. Social sciences included political science and thus aspects of citizenship education. Although the large claims sometimes made for social studies may have been unrealistic (e.g. Hemming, 1949) the movement gained considerable support before ebbing away in the 1970s.

The official view of education for citizenship appeared to be more sympathetic in the Crowther (1959) and Newsom (1963) reports. Both documents were positive and encouraging towards steps which ought to be taken to help prepare children for the duties expected of them as citizens, yet neither made specific or detailed recommendations in this respect. There was increasing sympathy for education in citizenship in schools and this was a theme taken up in the 1960s when preparations were made for the raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA) firstly to 15, and then to 16. A document published in 1965 by the Schools Council gave a list of ideas which should be descriptors of a citizen in a democratic society. These ideas included a "sense of debt to the past and responsibility towards the future, government by consent, respect for minority views ..." (p16) and several more. The problem, as always, was how to communicate these concerns to pupils effectively. Some argued that this kind of

political education should not be left until children were about to leave school. Bernard Crick (1969), for example, advocated a wider "skills" approach to education for citizenship when he wrote:

> As a professor of political studies, I am interested in political education at the secondary level of education because it should be there both in its own right and in the public interest, not as a feeder to the university Moloch. At some stage all young people ... should gain some awareness of what politics is about. It is more important that all teenagers should learn to read newspapers critically for their political content than that they should have heard of Aristotle, or know - may heaven forgive us all - when the Speaker's mace is or was over or under the table.

Guidelines for schools suggested by the Schools Council in 1975 were positive. "Pupils may reasonably expect to receive a political education appropriate to participation in the life of a democratic society" (p25). Brennan (1981) credits the Politics Association with some influence on the Schools Council report, and the association (of which Crick, quoted above, was the first president) has had an influence beyond its size, given that it has never had more than 600 members. The association is still active today and its policy has called for the improvement of "political literacy" including a critical awareness as well as understanding of the system of government of the country, and the ability of individuals to participate in the political process (Politics Association, 1980).

The Hansard Society, which helped the Politics Association into being, sponsored a curriculum project with Bernard Crick in 1978 called the Programme for Political Literacy. Political literacy was seen as a compound of knowledge, attitudes and skills appropriate to political awareness and understanding which together would enable an individual to function as a participative active citizen.

Growing interest in education for citizenship was evidenced by the publication of a number of texts at the end of the 1970s (Langveld, 1979 - Stradling, 1977 - and Crick and Heater, 1977) and the new Conservative Government of 1979 also saw an important role for education for citizenship.

The National Curriculum

At first it was not obvious that the Conservatives would take such a close interest in curricular matters that they would eventually impose a National Curriculum on schools. It is true that there had been some Conservative concern over aspects of work done in schools under the heading of social studies, either because it was thought to be irrelevant, or subversive. "Peace studies", one branch of moral and citizenship orientated work, caused particular anxiety amongst some members of the Conservative Party who suspected a left wing attempt to indoctrinate children against traditional British values. Eventually, however, Conservative Party concern over the curriculum of schools led to the gradual introduction in 1989-92 of a National Curriculum, although this had not been detailed in the 1979 or 1983 election manifestos. Moreover, Conservative interest in the curriculum initially looked positive for education for citizenship. "Political and social education" was mentioned as an important part of the curriculum when a government consultative document, *A Framework for the School Curriculum* was published in 1980.

It was clear, however, that Conservative opinion on society was divided. Douglas Hurd put one view when he said "Active citizenship is the free acceptance by individuals of voluntary obligations to the community of which they are members." (1993). Margaret Thatcher, then

Prime Minister, put the view of those Conservatives who were less worried about an apparent disintegration in society when she said in an interview with "Woman's Own" in 1989 that there was "no such thing" as society - although she did later adjust her statement. Successive Secretaries of State for Education, however, gradually tightened the content and expanded the core of the National Curriculum so that almost all the time of the school day was directed by the government through its appointed agent, initially the National Curriculum Council (NCC).

The NCC had replaced the School Curriculum Development Committee, which itself had replaced the School Council in 1983. Neither of its predecessors, however, had such executive powers as the NCC possessed to prescribe aspects of the school curriculum. Eventually the NCC in its turn was replaced by the Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) in October 1993 when the work of the NCC was combined with work previously undertaken by the Schools Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC). The idea of education for citizenship had not been lost however. Despite the fact that there was too much pressure on the school timetable for citizenship education to have a separate protected space of its own, it was identified by the NCC as one of five "cross curricular" themes that were to be taught through other subjects on the timetable. The themes which would be handled in this way would include careers education, environmental education, health education, economic and industrial understanding, as well as citizenship education.

The approaches favoured by the government for teaching citizenship were discusses in an NCC publication published in 1990 called "Curriculum Guidance No. 8: Education for Citizenship" (CG8). The document explained how aspects of citizenship could be approached through the foundation and core subjects of the National Curriculum. However, all was not plain-sailing for citizenship hereafter. Critics like Hargreaves (1991) pointed out that CG8 had no link with

the guidance offered on education for economic and industrial understanding issued 8 months earlier. The task of making the curriculum coherent, he said, had been left to the teachers. Moreover, the cross curricular themes were merely advisory, not mandatory. Schools tended to concentrate on setting up the mandatory aspects first, not surprisingly. Secondly, the National Curriculum became so detailed that it became difficult for schools to handle. It went through several revisions, most radically when it was reviewed in 1994 by Sir Ron Dearing. His recommendation on amendments to the curriculum made no mention of the cross curricular themes at all, and a paper prepared by Geoff Whitty of the London Institute of Education (1994) revealed that very little development was taking place anywhere in the five cross-curricular themes.

This does not mean, however, that nothing is happening in education for citizenship in the mid-1990s. There are a number of organisations which are actively developing materials for use in schools, or are active in ways that can be used by schools to aid their teaching. The Citizenship Foundation was originally a law-orientated group, but has broadened its base considerably since it was established in 1989. The Institute for Citizenship Studies was established a little later as a follow up to the 1991 report of the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship. It works in legal, training and educational spheres and in 1993 published "Democracy Then and Now" which it commissioned from Professor Stuart Ranson and others for use in schools. The Centre for Citizenship Studies at Leicester University, under the direction of Professor Ken Fogelman, has produced books and materials for use in schools. In addition there are several other groups like the Politics Association, mentioned above, the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC) who are primarily concerned with

education, and yet others attached to groups like Community Service Volunteers (CSV) where education is an ancillary concern.

In 1995 the official position of education for citizenship in secondary schools in England is a little confused. As a cross curricular theme it remains, officially, part of the National Curriculum. However, very little has been done to encourage schools to develop this aspect of the curriculum. It is now unclear whether many schools still believe that they should be delivering a curriculum relevant to citizenship. As has been discussed, even if schools have abandoned an official policy on citizenship education, it is inevitable that they will still be promoting a view of citizenship through other aspects of their work. Fogelman (1989) found that even before the introduction of the National Curriculum some 47 per cent of English secondary schools were leaving citizenship education to the school "ethos".

These considerations led to the formulation of the principal research question for this dissertation: what education for citizenship *is* taking place in secondary schools in England in 1995? This question, in turn, raised questions on the ways in which education *can* influence citizenship attitudes. As has been mentioned above, there are two aspects for education for citizenship. The first, the formal curriculum, should be relatively easy in research terms, to define and describe. The second, the affective, including the hidden curriculum, may be more significant in shaping the kind of society which will be created by tomorrow's citizens, but is less easy to prescribe. Does this aspect of education, in any case, have any affect on pupils, and if so, how can its effect be understood? The following chapter takes these ideas further.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: AN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

The second question begged by the concept of education for citizenship is what aspects of citizenship *can* be taught, or at least what aspects of citizenship can be influenced by education? Can the attitudes of future citizens really be determined or at least shaped by schooling, and if so, how?

In chapter one the concept of citizenship was discussed, and in examining what aspects of citizenship can be influenced by schooling it may be helpful to review the concept again briefly. It has been observed that whether citizenship determines society or society determines citizenship, they are different sides of the same coin. Definitions of citizenship have varied according to the nature of society, and to some extent the reverse has also been true. Pericles, speaking in Athens in 431 BC described the Athenian society as "a democracy because power is in the hands, not of a minority, but of the whole people."* (Quoted in Lloyd, Nixon and Ranson 1993) In his speech, Pericles went on to draw the link between society and citizenship. "Just as our political life is free and open, so is our day to day life in our relations with each other ... We are free and tolerant in our private lives; in public affairs we keep to the law". An educational system preparing young adults to take their place in an Athenian form of democracy would be preparing for a citizenship very different from that which might exist under an absolute monarchy, where "citizens" (if they could be described as such) would simply be subject to the arbitrary whim of an unapproachable power. The educational system would have a different agenda for citizenship if it existed in a Marxist society where equality

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* It should be noted, however, that Pericles' vision of "the whole people" did not embrace those who were females, foreigners or slaves!

of citizens in the name of the good of the state (`the people') is the guiding principle, and different again in the liberal democracy of Western Europe. The citizenship of Western liberal democracy tends to emphasise economic and political liberty at the expense of equality. (Russell 1946)

It is generally accepted (unless fundamental assumptions about schooling are challenged) that an educational syllabus would be able to give pupils a factual knowledge of the political system in which they live. Sometimes this could undoubtedly be a simplified or romanticised version of the position (such as the notion of parliamentary control over the cabinet in the UK system) but the theoretical structure could be explained and understanding could be assessed and evaluated. For much of the history reviewed in Chapter One, there has been a reasonable assumption that education through imparting knowledge or developing skills could make a difference to citizenship attitudes, and as recently as November 1995 calls were still being made that more information about the British political system should be given to pupils in schools (see Cambridge Evening News, 4 November 1995. The Chairman of Cambridgeshire County Council, J Gluza, called for civics education to be reintroduced to schools. "I know that the National Curriculum does not allow much time for extra subjects, but I think children should be taught this").

What actually should be included in a civics or citizenship syllabus partly depends, as has been noted above, on how citizenship is defined. That is not easy in contemporary British society. As we have seen the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship in 1991 side-stepped the issue, returning to a 1950 interpretation. The National Curriculum document published in 1990 was uncertain about the definition of citizenship, too. There appear to be at least three differing

definitions of citizenship offered in the first three pages of the NCC *Curriculum guidance number eight: Education for citizenship.*

In the foreword Duncan Graham suggests that the purpose of education in citizenship is to equip citizens with the understanding of "justice, democracy and respect for the rule of law". On page one schools are urged to lay the foundations for "positive, participation citizenship" by helping provide information, and by "providing them (pupils) with opportunities and incentives to participate in all aspects of school life". This would certainly be a radical approach to citizenship education by allowing pupils at school to take part in governors' meetings and the appointment of head teachers etc if "all aspects of school life" is taken at face value.

However, on page two this radical definition is softened in emphasis when the aims of education for citizenship are described as being to "establish the importance of positive participative in citizenship and provide the incentive to join in", and to "help pupils to acquire and understand essential information on which to base the development of their skills, values and attitudes towards citizenship."

On one of the practical questions faced by education for citizenship, however, the NCC was in no doubt. Citizenship was not to be a separate subject with protected time on the school timetable. Instead, as one of the five cross curricular themes, it was to be taught through the medium of the other core and foundation subjects represented on the timetable.

The curriculum guidance document offered suggestions as to how items relevant to citizenship could be covered in other subjects. As always the easiest of these concepts of civics were knowledge-based - facts about the development or procedures of the present form of government, rights and duties, for example. There was general agreement that this was the correct way to teach citizenship, and the few voices raised in favour of establishing a GCSE or similar fixed syllabus for citizenship were quickly rebuffed, even if echoes of these calls continue to be heard (eg Clark 1993 and Gluza 1995).

The main objection to a specific prescriptive curriculum for citizenship studies is, as has been discussed above, that it crosses from the cognitive to the affective (see Greenfield 1993 for example). For citizenship education involves not only facts, but feelings - or at least values and attitudes. There is, of course, a body of knowledge relevant to citizenship including facts about rights, laws, traditions, responsibilities etc. and about the structures of society and how these change and how they may be changed. Arguably more important, however, are the motivations for citizens to exercise their rights and to honour their responsibilities. These spring partly from developing the senses of belonging and of civilization which Marshall (1950), identifies as essential to citizenship.

Cultivating the affective through a prescribed syllabus is more challenging than informing the intellect. Because it involves values and emotional responses, *how* it is taught is just as important as what is being taught. The form in which the information is presented is as important as its substance. Fontana (1990 : 981) offers a helpful definition of the differences between the cognitive and affective aspects of education:

> Affective refers to emotions and feelings, the process by which we actually experience ourselves, while cognitive refers to mental abilities, the process by which we categorise and make sense of the world. The affective side of life includes in addition to emotions and feelings such things as attitudes, opinions, and moods, while the cognitive side includes intelligence, creativity, and problem solving in general.

Obviously the two aspects are linked. A cognitive framework is necessary to make sense of the world in which we live - but the affective will help determine the extent to which we feel satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way these structures operate.

The remainder of this chapter will examine the question of whether and how the affective aspects of an individual's development may be influenced by his or her experiences at school. Although clear differences are recognised, research seems to acknowledge that formalised education can touch both cognitive and affective aspects of development. (Turiel 1983, Harber 1991, John and Osborn 1992).

Some educationalists have drawn parallels between the "scientific" and "arts" aspects of academic life with the scientific being more cognitive and the artistic being more affective. Peter Abbs (1980) stated that the arts are concerned "with the development of consciousness through expressive symbol-making in the broad context of a collaborative community and in inherited culture", a definition which might be applied to some approaches to citizenship education.

The difficulty of moving beyond a cognitive to an affective level is illustrated by Hills (1990 : 899) who exemplifies his argument by considering music education: "Forcing a pupil who wants to make marks on paper to develop sensitivity by listening to sounds will develop

nothing but a lasting distaste of music". A similar comment on the problem of developing "tastes" was made by a former Inner London chief inspector of schools, Trevor Jaggar. He said "if I wanted to teach a child to like carrots, I would not feed him a diet composed exclusively of carrots". (Quoted by Greenfield 1995: p220).

Because citizenship education is partly concerned with values, it can reach into every aspect of school life. In addition to any formal "citizenship education lessons" pupils will be learning from the teachers, from their conduct, from their relationships with pupils, from their relationships with each other, obvious lessons of citizenship through experience and observation. "In terms of citizenship education, it is said children learn as much from the ethos of the school as they do from the formal curriculum. Citizenship is concerned with values and attitudes, rights and responsibilities. Do we simply inform pupils what these are - or should be - ready for when they leave school? Or do we aim to provide a developmental framework within the school which will provide a model for later life?" (Burkimsher, et al, 1991: 2-07). This is a central dilemma which has always faced schools and educators in their approach to "citizenship education".

There are areas of the "formal" curriculum which are part of education for citizenship, and include personal and social education, religious education (especially where it deals with ethical and moral issues), civics, politics, "form periods", current affairs, as well as whole school assemblies. Pastoral education is also obviously value-laden (Mumby, 1985) and can also, therefore, be included in the "formal" curriculum which has links with citizenship. But *how* this formal curriculum is delivered may make more impact in the citizenship attitudes of the pupils than the "facts" which are being imparted. "The effects of schooling could be

studied in terms of how these meanings taken from (teachers') patterns of resolution influence persons' social, political economic and cultural activity in the immediate and long-term future." (Berlak and Berlak 1981: 109).

While the formal education is usually carefully considered, often debated and written down, the style in which it is delivered is usually a matter for the professional judgment of the teacher. This area of professional autonomy (Hoyle and John 1995) can lead to considerable confusion in the affective educational messages being received by individual pupils, even within the same school.

While, as Berlak and Berlak (1981) point out there are dangers of polarising education into dichotomies, the formal curriculum, ie, the official syllabus of the school, does stand in contrast with the informal curriculum, which includes much of that which influences pupils' affective development.

The whole area of affective education, in its influence on emotional and aesthetic responses, could be linked with the shaping of future citizens, but it is more difficult to measure the outcomes of affective educational programmes to help answer the question of whether aspects of "citizenship" can be taught. Some schemes have been suggested to help assess the outcome of affective programmes, for example Payne (1974) which in turn was based on the work of Krathwohl, et al (1964). Going back to the original work of Bloom (1956) Payne defined "internalisation" as the central aspect of the affective domain. Payne defined internalisation as the inner growth that occurs when an individual becomes aware of, and then adopts

attitudes, principles, codes and sanctions that are basic to his or her value judgments and which guide his or her behaviour.

The findings of research (John and Osborn, 1992, Galton and Simon, 1980) clearly emphasise that citizenship education is not located solely in the cognitive domain. The way in which facts are presented will influence pupils, not just the facts which are communicated. Unless schools assess the likely impact of their educational programmes, disciplinary codes etc, there will still be an affective outcome but it will be more unpredictable, and more random. The attitudes which result might be less than sympathetic to the classical "liberal democratic" conception of citizenship which western society currently espouses. This must be given urgent consideration by those of secondary schools that were found by Fogelman (1991) to be leaving citizenship education to the process of "emersion in the corporate life of the school". Without a careful assessment of the likely affective outcomes of the overall school curriculum and ethos. The affective impact of the "corporate life of the school" might not parallel the school's declared objectives, and could even undermine or contradict such official aims.

John and Osborn (1992) suggested some quantitative methods for measuring the impact of a school "ethos" on citizenship attitudes of pupils. Questionnaires were distributed to pupils in two schools selected because of their "traditional" and "democratic" (respectively) structure and ethos. By asking carefully structured questions about attitudes, the results of this survey seem to indicate that there were definite influences on the attitudes of students which could be linked to the "ethos" of each school. The findings seem to support Harber (1991) who suggests that schools' organisational structures politically socialise pupils, although this is to a limited extent, and may be influenced by other factors.

The links between personal and social education and citizenship is emphasised by the work of Dowling (1991), who quotes from the National Curriculum Council (1989) that "personal and social education is arguably the most important of the cross-curricular dimensions to which schools need to give attention". Like Fullan (1989), Dowling emphasises the difficulties of innovation in this area of the curriculum, and especially the difficulty of any change which might mean that all teachers have to make changes in <u>their</u> values. The question of <u>what</u> values are transmitted by teachers of PSE is an interesting one. Do they transmit the official values of the school, or do they transmit the values which they personally espouse? It is, at the very least, likely that the values transmitted will be heavily influenced by the teachers' personal values, whatever syllabus or curriculum the teacher is following. What the teacher considers to be important will almost inevitably be emphasised more strongly by the teacher than that which he or she considers less important. This is developed further in Chapter Five.

One particular difficulty highlighted by Dowling (1991) is the low value ascribed to affective education programmes by some members of the teaching profession. This point was also emphasised by Lawton (1995) when he described citizenship education in schools as a "high risk, low pay-off" subject, which not only has low status in schools but also can be dangerous. "Teachers can be accused of bias or even indoctrination". (p9)

However, schooling is obviously not the only influence shaping citizenship. OFSTED (1994a) reminded teachers that the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils (all of which have a bearing on citizenship attitudes) are influenced by factors such as "age, personality, gender, family, peer group, ethnicity, cultural background and more generally the moral, spiritual and cultural climate of our society and of the communities to which they belong" (p7). Strayer (1986), Dodge (1985) and John and Osborn (1992) for example, suggest

that an important factor shaping attitudes amongst pupils is the pre-existing attitudes which they bring to school. Dodge, for example, shows how aggressive boys interpret cues from peers in a far more threatening way than non-aggressive boys. The aggressive boys identify hostility as the cause of actions on the part of others, far more often than do non-aggressive boys. The implications for citizenship attitudes are clear from the work of Hoffmann (1976) who showed that children who trust that their own needs will be satisfied by others, are likely themselves to be more responsive to the feelings and needs of others.

None of the above must be taken as an argument that the cognitive does not have a role to play in shaping citizenship attitudes. Turiel (1983) for example illustrates the role of the cognitive in citizenship education. He quotes Lepper (p335) as demonstrating that a discipline based on a rational, cognitive, approach can be very effective in influencing attitudes. He suggests that providing a child with reasons for the acceptability or non-acceptability of behaviour patterns can be a particularly powerful form of discipline, since it is likely to stimulate changes in a child's way of thinking. This thesis would lend support to a "dual" approach to citizenship education through both the cognitive and affective. Leming (1981) in surveying 59 studies of curriculum effectiveness in moral or values education suggested that a cognitive "moral development" approach could alter attitudes and values.

However, the difficulties of synthesising the cognitive and affective dimensions are illustrated by Castillo (1974) and James (1968). Castillo referred to the lack of attention paid to the affective aspects of education by calling it "work for the teacher's left hand". Miller (1976), however, identified a number of curriculum innovations which were designed to develop affective aspects of citizenship, including sensitivity to others, and group orientations, often

through a cognitive framework. The "political literacy" movement of the 1970's with which the Politics Association was closely involved played a part in curriculum development which had a significant impact on these facts. Recent examples of similar programmes might be "Choices" developed by Settle and Wise (1986) or the "Choices for Britain" developed by Carl Berger (1993) for the (then Bristol-based) Saferworld project, which both have similar strategies. "Cross curricular issues" (Tilley and King, 1991) tackles citizenship in a similar way, and also addresses the school ethos as a means of developing positive citizenship attitudes.

The "democracy then and now" project (Lloyd, et al, 1993), with which the present writer was involved, takes as its body of knowledge the history of the development of democracy in Athenian times, but aims to "re-enact" the processes which led to the emergence of democracy. Through the involvement of pupils in these processes, the project hopes to encourage pupils to engage with and practise democratic methods. The next step is comparing ideas on how democracy could and should work with, for example, "democracy in the United Kingdom today". (Hence the dangers of "subversion" as Lawton (1995) described it).

Having pupils think carefully about their own place in society may have its dangers, however, apart from accusations of "subversion". Illich (1971) Friedeberg (1965) and Holt (1964) all suggest that there may be fundamental contradictions between compulsory schooling and positive citizenship attitudes and this theme has recently been taken up again by Shute (1994). Strom and Torrance (1973) make some links between a possible failure of the British educational system to value affective aspects of education and the growing alienation of young people in contemporary society. An interesting footnote in the report of the National

Commission on Education (1993) was the fact that more schools are burned down in Great Britain than in any other country in the world. Since many of these arsonists turn out to be school children (whatever else this might suggest about them), it does not suggest that they view schools as empowering institutions. Mercer (1974) suggests that even moral education in Britain is obsessed with "teaching" ideas in a didactic fashion rather than in allowing pupils the opportunity for the affective development which moral development might suggest.

Despite its being identified and promoted as a major cross-curricular theme, the introduction of the National Curriculum to British schools in the 1990s may have dealt citizenship education a serious blow. Given the current and traditional obsession of the British educational system with "teaching" cognitive aspects of education which can then be assessed, measured and evaluated, it was not surprising that some educationalists suggested a GCSE in citizenship studies. Despite its obvious inappropriateness, as discussed by Greenfield (1993), the suggestion might also be seen as a measure of desperation in trying to rescue citizenship education from oblivion under the National Curriculum. Giving external accreditation to a subject usually helps bring it in from the edge of the curriculum both for teachers and pupils.

The paper by Whitty (1994) which suggests that all the "cross-curricular themes" of the National Curriculum have been largely ignored, tends to confirm these fears. The statutory requirements of the National Curriculum emphasised the foundation and core subjects, which would be tested by SATs, with attainment targets and detailed curricula being presented to schools. These aspects, being statutory, obviously took precedence over the discretionary "cross curricular themes". According to Lawton (1995), successive Secretaries of State for Education from Kenneth Clarke onwards discouraged further discussion of cross-curricular

work, and when the National Curriculum ran into serious difficulties in 1993, the Dearing review was concerned to "prune" the curriculum, and not introduce new priorities. A provisional indication based on anecdotal evidence, in addition to the Whitty paper is that even if "citizenship" can be taught, at present it is not being taught in a coherent, premeditated fashion in most British schools. Nonetheless, as the research evidence listed above would indicate, citizenship attitudes of pupils are still being shaped by schools.

Schools are, whether they like it or not, held responsible by many for shaping citizenship attitudes. This is supported by Mulgan (1994) who refers to links between citizenship "and its roots in schools and children's outlook on the world." All schools are undoubtedly involved in this process, whether they know it or not. "... teachers everywhere teach citizenship every day. Each time a teacher asks children to be fair, to respect others' property and opinions they are teaching citizenship" (Barr, 1994). The ethos of different schools can affect citizenship attitudes as John and Osborn (1992) showed.

Having reviewed the results of research, it is evident that some aspects of citizenship - knowledge, facts and to a lesser extent attitudes - can be "taught". However, the diversity of opinions about what society is or should be, may mean confusion not just between Government and educators, nor just between schools, but *within* schools as well. The espoused values of a school may not be the values of the individual teacher, and they may conflict with the "home" values of the pupils. The Canadian researcher Chamberlin (1992) has discussed the vision which he feels should underlie citizenship education, and in doing so emphasises the lack of unity on this fundamental vision. The different values exhibited by different socio-economic group pupils has been explored by Easton and Dennis (1967), so that even within

the same school the home values of pupils may cover a wide spectrum, with differing resultant citizenship attitudes.

Pateman (1970) takes the view that education in democracy can only be achieved through a democratic, participative education system, which would mean a thorough restructuring of the British education structure. Bottery (1992 : 162) advocates a very full involvement of pupils in a democratised educational structure partly to develop an "active" citizenship concept. He suggests that pupils are deliberately denied a say in the management of their schools, "which says an awful lot about the schools and the society in which they exist".

The active commitment of pupils to a democratic society must require them to believe that democratic structures work. This may require practice and experience with democratic arrangements at school, with all that implies for the existing structures. A civic survey quoted by Almond and Verba (1963 : 345) tends to support this by suggesting that young people who have experience of joining in decision-making in family, school or work situations are far more likely than those who have not had this opportunity, to believe they can influence the process of political decision-making. The inclusion of family and work re-emphasises that school is merely one of several influences which help shape citizenship attitudes. Indeed, most children are only in school for between 18 and 24 hours each week for only 39 weeks of the year - hardly a great deal of time compared to other influences. This may help explain the failure of schools to modify children's attitudes greatly, as discussed in this and the previous chapter.

The importance in practice of practical participation in decision-making is emphasised by Entwistle (1971 : 103), if pupils are to develop an interest in active citizenship:

> We have to recognise the limitations of mere didacticism in political education; the insufficiency of hortatory political theorising, where we assume that simply telling people the 'facts' of politics and urging them to do their duty is sufficient impetus towards their becoming responsible citizens in the fullness of time. In citizenship training, as with teaching any skill, we have to recognise the importance of learning by doing. The practice of any skill is a necessary condition for understanding how to perform it effectively.

Dickson (1975 : 9) also points out the importance of participation as a way of imparting an active citizenship attitude. "Commitment is a consequence - and not a pre-condition - of involvement." However, Oakeshott (1962 :3) points out that merely practising democracy is not enough for effective education for citizenship. "To empiricism must be added a political ideology in order to achieve an adequate concept of political activity." Knowledge is a vital complement to practice, and theory is the necessary correlate.

This may create problems for teachers in English secondary schools in 1995. What theoretical political ideology should be added, even if adequate practice can be given? Schools may consider themselves neutral in political ideology, but every school will be presenting a political message to its pupils in the society it models for them, or in the range of political ideas it puts in (or leaves out of) the syllabus.

Lack of agreement on what society is or should be may be the most significant obstacle for citizenship education. Research seems to establish quite clearly that citizenship attitudes can be "taught", or at least influenced by school experiences, even if only to limited extents. However the weakness of the system is that citizenship education can only be delivered by

fallible mortals who may already have contradictory or differing values to pupils who may already have contradictory values themselves. Thus it is likely that formal or informal attempts to "teach" citizenship have not "failed", but have been successful, but in many different perhaps unintended ways.

The question of what teaching on citizenship is actually taking place in English secondary schools is therefore closely linked to the question of what learning is taking place. In order to explore the contemporary situation a qualitative research project was designed to investigate a typical English secondary school. This case study could provide a description of what is taking place in English secondary schools and with what results. The design of such a project will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT

Introduction

Having examined the theoretical educational context for Education for Citizenship, together with its historical background, designing a small empirical research project was the next logical step.

As described in the 'Introduction' to this dissertation, the question which really interested the researcher was "What teaching and learning of citizenship was actually taking place in English comprehensive schools?" It was therefore the actual practice which was of interest, not the theory of the practice. Adapting a phrase used by Crick and Lister (1979) the actions would speak louder that the words.

Finding out what teaching and learning of citizenship was actually taking place at a typical English comprehensive school was thought to be a possible basis of an appropriate small scale project which could illuminate this question. A project was therefore designed with the twin aims of:

a) Constructing a picture of the inner world of the school with reference to the teaching and learning of citizenship, and

b) Identifying and developing themes which may be taken up by other researchers with different methodological structures.

Why a Qualitative Methodology was Chosen

As the research questions above evolved, they seemed to suggest a qualitative methodology would be most suitable. At the start however, a quantitative methodology was not ruled out, despite ethnographic study appearing to offer more potential. Some researchers, notably Fogelman (1991) have devised systems for research into citizenship education on a quantitative basis. This approach could be especially helpful if comparisons were to be drawn up, either between schools, or on a longitudinal basis to compare the position of education for citizenship in 1995, for example, with that which Fogelman found in 1991. However a quantitative methodology was felt not to be most helpful within the terms of the main research question, which aimed at describing the position of citizenship education in English secondary schools rather than comparing or quantifying it. Establishing some absolute measure to provide an index of the commitment of different schools to education for citizenship presented some exciting possibilities, but the scope of such a project far exceeded the scope in theoretical and practical terms for researching the present question.

One of the basic problems for any attempt to quantify education for citizenship would be the difficulty of consistency. There is no universal standard for measuring education for citizenship, and there is no standard agreed unit for education for citizenship. What one school might count as an hour's instruction time for citizenship, another might count as a part of the History, or English, time allocation. One school might count fund-raising by pupils as a recreational or extra-curricular activity, whereas another school might count it as community involvement, and thus an important part of education for citizenship. Similarly, parts of the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, or The Youth Award Scheme (ASDAN) are of a "community service" nature, but are also about self development and personal skills

development. What balance can be agreed between education for citizenship and other educational objectives in these areas? How can that balance be quantified to add to a sum total of curricular, extra-curricular and hidden curricular influence so that a general quotient for each pupil can be obtained? An aggregate quotient for the whole school which would also be required for the purposes of comparison school on school and year upon year, presents, if anything, yet more difficulties. No doubt such a set of indices could be constructed since Fogelman did go some way to this in his 1991 work, and John and Osborn (1992) constructed a similar quantifying methodology for their work on the impact of school ethos on citizenship attitudes. However, a reasonable *a priori* assumption was that there would have to be some ultimately arbitrary decisions which would be made at some point by the researcher over what activities, and what balance of activities, would be counted as "citizenship-linked". In this context it is difficult to see quantitative data collected in this way as being of sufficiently high reliability to warrant the very great investment of time and energy required to assemble it.

In discarding a quantitative methodology other factors were also taken into account. The quality of educational research through quantitative methodology has been criticised by McGrath (1970: 66) partly on the grounds of the employment of "statistical procedures from manipulation of experimental data". This criticism would not apply to analysis of data in a qualitative project, as long as the data collected was not subsequently analysed in a quantitative fashion.

Other researchers including Campbell and Stanley (1963), Festinger and Katz (1953), Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg (1955) and Hyman (1955) have all rejected quantitative methodologies for research in education in favour of an approach based on discussion and

enquiry. Entwhistle and Nisbet (1972) noted the beneficial effects on participants from involvement in the process of a qualitative research study. They also noted that since the researcher is the instrument of research in ethnography, it was more effective for the researcher to be the main gatherer of data in such a project. This would indicate that a qualitative methodology is particularly suited to small-scale research, where the purpose is not to generalise findings, but to describe and illuminate the realities of a particular situation, such as the present project. If a research project is modest in scale it is unlikely that the sample base would be adequate anyway for valid quantitative conclusions to be drawn. McCall (1923) for example, had noted the importance of establishing "adequate and proper data to which to apply statistical procedures" in quantitative research projects.

Thus a qualitative methodology was felt to be much more appropriate for the research project, following an ethnographic strategy, which evolved from the earlier anthropological research tradition established by Malinowski (1922). This offers an opportunity to gain an understanding of the situation, or the `culture' from those actually experiencing the situation, approaching it without preconceptions of the probable results of the research. The research might illuminate aspects of the teaching and learning of citizenship which could suggest areas for further research.

In addition to this, there were other possibilities offered by an ethnographic, qualitative approach. For example, Parlett and Hamilton (1977: 22) suggested that it was possible for the outcome of qualitative research to be regarded as "useful, intelligible and revealing by those involved in the enterprise itself". This was the hope that was articulated by the Headteacher of the school which was eventually selected to be researched. It also appeared that the project

fitted well into a cyclical process of development underway at the school in question, a process similar to that described by Elliott (1981) and others in their discussion of "action research". This is a well known and effective approach to management, and institutional development. The involvement of practitioners in what Schon (1983) and Stenhouse (1975) described as "reflective practice" has long been noted as an effective developmental tool. The involvement of practitioners (Webb 1990) has also been described by Law (1992) where critical self-analysis produces the elements of a plan for future action. In the present case the question of self-analysis would be aided by an external agent (the researcher) and the conclusions would be drawn from the data collected from the various sources mentioned.

An Ethnographic Study

Having made the decision to use a qualitative methodology, the details of the ethnographic study had now to be arranged. This study is rooted in the tradition established by Malinowski (1922) and developed by members of what became known as the "Chicago School of sociologists" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) notably Thomas (1927) and Park (described by Hughes, 1971) and later Redfield (1955). A feature of this tradition that was felt to be appropriate for the present descriptive project, was the attempt to comprehend a situation without *a priori* assumptions about the probable results of the research. Such a research method can be laborious and time consuming because of the intensive data-gathering techniques as noted by Wilson (1984). However, the present proposed research project was limited in scale, suggesting that an ethnographic approach would be manageable within the limited resources available (Geertz, 1973). Vulliamy (1990) also suggested that this approach offered the possibility of revealing new, unforeseen aspects of the question being researched.

The approach also took into account the complex network of social interaction (Filstead 1970) which pupils encounter.

Qualitative research procedures are also particularly appropriate for enquiries which aim at descriptive work which may `illuminate' (Hammersley, 1990) the situation being researched. Vulliamy (1990) also noted that by working "through the eyes of participants" conclusions drawn from the research may be more likely to be of real value in, for example, taking future policy decisions, since findings would be grounded in the real world, and not in an idealised version of what the researcher might have imagined to be happening. As noted above, the potential advantages of such information was quickly appreciated by the Head of the school which was to be researched.

A further dimension to this "utilitarian" aspect of the qualitative approach to research was noted by Goetz and LeCompte (1984) when they described ethnographic research as a process as well as a product. The illuminative and evaluative role of qualitative research and development has been described by Norris (1990: 10):

> Illuminative evaluation takes account of the wider context in which educational programmes function. Its primary concern is with description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction... the aims of illuminative evaluation are to study (for example) the innovatory programme: how it operates; how it is influenced by the various school situations in which it is applied; what those directly concerned with it regard as its advantages and disadvantages and how students' intellectual tasks and academic experiences are most affected.

The researcher noted from the outset that external validity - the degree to which findings can be generalised - is limited in a qualitative study. The internal validity of the research, on the

other hand, could be high, if sufficient care were taken in framing the questions to try to elucidate the information which would be relevant to the research. The ecological validity of the project should also be high, in the context of the school being studied. It would, however, be unlikely that any other school would exactly replicate the conditions prevailing at the school being researched, to make it possible to transfer the results precisely. However, since a cross-section of pupils and staff were interviewed, a similar range of views expressed might also be found in any school in England that might be the subject of a similar study.

The distinction between "general" and "design-specific" standards of validity distinguished by Eisenhart and Howe (1992) was helpful, since the project in question was very specific. The subjectivity of qualitative research, which has sometime led to the conclusions of such research being given less respect than the conclusions of quantitative research, is dealt with by Jansen and Peshkin (1992: 717). They called for a more sophisticated definition of the concepts of subjectivity and objectivity. "Trustworthiness", they said, "will be judged by readers who personally ascertain the fit between what they read and what they know and have experienced". In the research project under consideration the confirmation of evidence through comparison of data gathered from different sources (documentation, interviews and personal observation) and the professional experience of the researcher, should ensure a high level of internal validity, and a high level of "trustworthiness".

In addition to the concepts of trustworthiness and validity there were other considerations in selecting an ethnographic methodology. The seven stages of ethnographic research identified by Goetz and LeCompte (1984) closely parallel the seven stages for educational research which are listed by Entwhistle and Nisbet (1972). Both urge a precise definition of the problem

which is to be addressed, and both then emphasise the importance for the design of the research model, although Entwhistle and Nisbet include reading previous research as an essential requisite to this step. In the present case the question had been redefined so that it approached one discrete aspect of a much broader field. Taking this step assisted in the framing of questions which might be asked in pursuing the research.

However, one piece of advice offered by Bogdan and Biklen (1992) contradicts Entwhistle and Nisbet (1972) in one respect. Whereas Entwhistle and Nisbet believed that study of previous research was essential Bogdan and Biklen (1992) urged that qualitative researchers should proceed "as if they know very little about the people and places" which they investigate. They suggested that researchers should attempt to "mentally cleanse their pre-conceptions" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992: 58). The researcher in this present project found this to be difficult, and perhaps undesirable. Framing questions for interviews almost inevitably draws on testing out some hypothesis. Even if this is only a vague idea in the mind of the researcher it usually depends on prior knowledge for its existence. Nonetheless Bogdan and Biklen (1992) pointed to a danger in investigating situations which are familiar because they predicted that the opinions of the researcher often become more significant than "definition of the situation," in the light of the data gathered (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992: 60). The question of "cleansing pre-conceptions" about the particular situation, however, would not prove difficult in the present project, since the school and its arrangements were totally unknown to the researcher until a month or so before the project commenced.

Other criticisms of the qualitative approach to research have also been made, and need to be considered. For example, suggestions have been made that quantitative scientific research is

objective whereas qualitative education research is "subjective", hinging on the claim that experiments are possible in the sciences, but not in education. Simon (1969), for example, suggests that "experiments" may have a major advantage over "surveys" if they can give clearer evidence of "cause and effect". Kish (1965) however had already challenged the distinction between social and physical research by pointing out that in many physical sciences (e.g. astronomy, meteorology, geology etc.) experiments are not feasible either. The contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research are now less a cause for controversy, and the results of qualitative research may be regarded as reliable and valid within their own contexts. Eisner and Peshkin (1990: 3) have noted that the tension between quantitative and qualitative research is now "less an encounter and more an interface".

Another criticism is a suggestion that qualitative research is "not really research at all", voiced by Travers (1964). His claim that information yielded by small-scale research was usually "primitive" and was only of "local significance" does not present a problem in the present case however. One school was studied, simply to find out the position of education for citizenship in that school. No broader claims would be made for the results of the research than that.

Hammersley (1990) defined ethnography as social research which has most or all of the following five characteristics:

1. People's behaviour is studied in everyday contexts, rather than under experimental conditions created by the research.

2. Data are gathered from a *range* of sources, but observation and/or relatively informal conversations are usually the main ones.

3. The approach to data collection is 'unstructured' in the sense that it does not involve following through a detailed plan set up at the beginning; nor are the categories used for interpreting what people say and do pre-given or fixed.

This does not mean that the research is unsystematic; simply that initially the data are collected in as raw a form, and on as wide a front, as feasible.

4. The focus is usually a single setting or group, of relatively small scale. In life history research the focus may even be a single individual.

5. The analysis of the data involves interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions and mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most. (p2).

The present study has all these features to a greater or lesser extent.

The Sample and Data Collection

Having decided on a qualitative research project, the research questions stated at the beginning of this chapter were reconsidered and refined. The study was to aim at describing the living realities of education for citizenship in a particular school. In the course of constructing the description it would be expected that further questions would arise which would in turn suggest further possible research.

In considering education for citizenship in one school it appeared to the researcher that such education should be considered at different levels and even within each of these levels there is likely to be considerable variation in attitude. Ball (1981) for example found in his study of Beachside Comprehensive that there were three simultaneous debates at staff level on the question of mixed ability teaching. These positions were based on the teachers' own differences on "conceptions and purposes of schooling, of appropriate teacher-pupil relationships, of learning and of the pedogogical role of the teacher" (Ball, 1987: 35); in other words their personal beliefs and values. Macdonald and Walker (1976) highlighted the possible disconnection between *debating* positions of teachers and their own classroom

practice. Ball (1987:40) reminds us that there is often a difference between school policy and practice: "changes in policy should not be confused with changes in practice".

Bearing this in mind, the three levels at which education for citizenship at school C would be examined were:

1) The official, whole school, policy. At this level the Governors, Local Education Authority (LEA), Headteachers and Government would be framing 'rules' to regulate life in the school. A possible sub-categorisation of this level into Governor Policies and Headteacher's interpretation, or LEA or Government policies and their interpretation by the Governors, were disregarded as separate areas for investigation, but were to be taken into account when attempting a general description of what the Headteacher believed to be taking place in the school.

2) The practitioner level. Here the research should recognise the two aspects of understanding of official policy and the implementation of that policy. School policies are generally implemented by the teachers at that school, so a high level of comprehension of the aims of the whole-school policy, and a high degree of commitment to delivering the aims of that policy, are both required of teachers. This is particularly important in a subject like education for citizenship where affective as well as cognitive domains are involved, and *how* a teacher delivers the syllabus is at least as important as what the syllabus contains.

3) The pupils' experience and learning. This is where the effectiveness of education for citizenship might be observed. The children and their attitudes would represent the citizenship outcomes of the school policy and practice. In the context of active, participative models of citizenship the study would not attempt to establish the effectiveness of the cognitive learning, by setting factual tests for example. The study would focus on the views and attitudes of the pupils who would be researched. The outcomes could then be compared with three declared aims of the school's central policy.

While the project was being designed, an opportunity arose for the researcher to enter a school which appeared to be very suitable for such a study. The school (school C) had characteristics of size, location, population, facilities and staff which seemed to be fairly typical of English secondary comprehensive schools. The Headteacher was sympathetic to the aims of the project, and also recognised that there might be illuminative and evaluative potential (Norris 1990) which could benefit the school in its own development. A thumbnail sketch of the school is provided in Chapter Four.

In each of these levels a research sample was selected. The data collection would not depend on interviews alone, but would also use field notes, observation of individuals and analysis of documentation. Yin, (1984) for example, lists six sources of evidence for case studies, but two of his suggested categories (archival records and physical artifacts) were not applicable to the present study. "The opportunity to use multiple sources of evidence far exceeds that in other research strategies, such as experiments, surveys, or histories" (Yin, 1984: 90). However those to be interviewed were obviously crucial to the study. The administrators to

be interviewed were virtually self-selecting (the Head and the Deputy Head in charge of PSE) and a selection of teaching staff was also made to cover subjects with a strong link to citizenship (e.g. PSE, RE) and academic subjects where the link is strong (e.g. English or History) or less obvious (e.g. Maths or Physics).

Practical considerations led the researcher to select Year 9 pupils for interview. Given that each interview could last for up to an hour, and that the study aimed to cover 20% of one year group, the interviews could have meant considerable disruption to classes. It was agreed that the oldest non-examination year pupils (i.e. Year 9) would be the most accessible, and the most appropriate. The Head of Year made a selection of those to be interviewed on a modified random basis. Every fifth name on the class list was selected, then slightly adjusted to take account of the overall profile of the year group on the basis of gender, ethnicity, and ability. Since the project was not based on a quantitative foundation, the size of the sample was of lesser importance, although sufficient interviewees would be required to give the internal validity necessary to generalise for the whole institution. The proportion of 20% was arrived at given that it was not feasible, in the time available, to interview every member of Year 9 (approximately 100).

Each of the pupils was then to be interviewed by the researcher using an open-ended question technique, designed to supply a frame of reference for respondents' answers, but which put a minimum of restraint on those answers (Kerlinger, 1969). The particular questions were designed to elucidate information concerning each individual's:

1) sense of identity

2) ideas about social and anti-social behaviour

3) experience of the influence of school

4) sense of empowerment and authority.

Similar areas were explored in the questions asked of administrators and practitioners, including ideas of "moral behaviour" by pupils, the kind of young adult which the school should produce, and how they helped to develop these individuals. Indirect questions were included as in the technique recommended by Wilson (1984: 30). This helped to reduce the possibility of respondents giving answers which they anticipate will be pleasing to the researcher rather than giving their true feelings. The answers to questions can be compared to check the responses - a technique of triangulation. This can also be done in respect of observed behaviour being compared with professed beliefs. Copies of the questions/prompts used as a basis for all interviews are included as appendices to this dissertation.

The interviews were probably the most important sources of data, and there were some decisions to be taken about what kind of interview technique would be most appropriate for the research project. The different kinds of interview which could have been used have been catalogued by Hitchcock and Hughes (1989). The structured interview was likely to predicate a quantifiable response, but would not be so helpful in an ethnographic study. Similarly the semi-structured approach, although it was more likely to produce genuinely original opinions, would limit the expression of the participants. The open-ended interview would produce much material which could be superfluous but would be likely to produce the "thickest" description. Advice on how to conduct the interview, offered by Hitchcock and Hughes (1989), Wragg (1984) and Wolcott (1990) was useful, although no amount of advice could prevent the present

researcher from falling into some of the traps. Some transcripts of the early interviews (see Appendix IV) show the researcher talking too much, although not, the researcher hopes and believes, to the point of invalidating data gathered. Later interviews were better in this respect (see Appendix V). Other advice which was helpful to the researcher when attempting to record data included Kaplan's (1973) reminder of the difference between act and action. The same words or event might have very different meanings for the "doer" ("the actor") and "observer" (the person seeing or hearing the action). There was also encouragement for the present researcher from Dobbert (1982: 63) who observed that "most anthropologists rank informants for validity and reliability, at least in their own minds". The present researcher noted a tendency to do this during the interviews, but felt more detached when analysing the transcriptions some days later.

Nonetheless there are problems for the ethnographer in these interviews themselves. Dobbert's (1982) ranking of interviewees will inject a part of the interviewer's prejudices into the data. This can, perhaps, be kept to a minimum by recognising this danger and being aware of it when reviewing transcripts. Goodson (1983) also draws attention to this problem. He quotes Becker (1970: 71) who suggests one way of reducing the problem. If we enter as fully as possible into the lives of those we study, "we can begin to see what we take for granted (and ought not to) in designing our research", and thus confront some of the bias we all hold.

Three other problems with interviewing may be mentioned to illustrate some of the dangers which the present study sought to avoid. The question of naturalism (Lofland 1967) as opposed to reflexivity (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1989) was confronted by the researcher attempting to blend in with the habitat at school C. For example, most male teachers wore

sports jackets and casual shoes, so the researcher abandoned his usual sweater or suit and dressed as pupils and staff would expect a teacher to dress. He also spent a little while chatting to pupils before interviewing them, trying to put them at ease. Thus he tried to adopt a naturalistic approach, but was aware, of course, that by talking to people, especially pupils, he was creating a non-natural situation for them. This inevitably means there will be an impact by the interviewer on the interview being recorded. This was included in the researcher's consciousness when he analysed the data. This cannot guarantee that the researcher's impact is neutralised. However, the fact that the findings of the research were contrary to the hopes of the researcher (see Chapter Seven) may indicate that the researcher did not prompt interviewees to give him the answers he hoped to hear. This might suggest that he was also able to make some allowance for his own impact on the interviews.

The second problem is that of timing. Ball (1983) points out that, for example, school years have their rhythm and cycle of highs and lows. Interviews conducted at the beginning of the school year might be more up-beat and optimistic in tone than interviews conducted in the spring term for example. The research project tried to account for this by staggering interviews over much of the autumn term to accommodate the 'highs' and 'lows' of that term.

The final problem which will be mentioned at this stage is that of accurate recollection. Asking people to remember events or procedures is not simply asking them to uncover some unchanging truth. Berger (1966: 70) reminds us that the past is malleable, constantly changing as "our recollection re-interprets and re-explains" past events. The present project could not avoid this completely, but by checking individual interview responses with responses from

other interviewees, and data from observations, field notes and documentation, the problem was reduced.

Nonetheless, the contribution of Denscombe (1983) to the debate is more positive for the present research project which has a major data input from interviews. He suggests that interviews have advantages over pure observation in producing reliable data. He suggests that interviews require that the interviewer and participant construct and maintain mutual understanding. This increases ecological validity because it reduces the dangers of the interviewer misconstruing or misinterpreting responses.

In undertaking the required interviews and analysing them the researcher found the checklist of Wolcott (1990: 127) (alluded to above) was helpful and he attempted to follow it, if not always successfully. Principal elements were nine points as follows:

talk little, listen a lot;
record accurately;
write early;
include primary data in report;
report fully;
be candid;
seek feedback;
try to achieve balance;
write accurately.

The interview prompts constructed for the project are included as Appendix I, II, and III.

Typical prompt/questions were:

"Describe a model school pupil as far as you are concerned." (staff)
"Which school rule is, or should be the most important, as far as you are concerned? What new school rule would make the school a better place for you - for your friends - for others?" (pupils)
"How do you teach ethics/morality? How are rules made at this school?" (heads)

All interviews were carefully transcribed, although occasionally the tapes became inaudible and the supplementary notes taken during interviews were required to fill in a few blanks. Rarely were gaps left in the transcribed texts. The transcripts are too bulky to be included here, as they cover several hundred pages. An example is, nonetheless, included as Fig 2. See also Appendices IV, V and IX.

The project aimed at interviewing 20% of the Year 9 pupils at school C. In the end, 19 pupils were interviewed, just one short of the target. Each interview took between half and one whole hour. The list of prompts used is at Appendix III. To this interview data was added relevant notes made during observations of pupils in and out of class. Items referring to pupils in the local press were also gathered.

Some teachers were observed and four of them were interviewed. The prompts used are included in Appendix II. A spread of subject specialists was selected to cover not only areas with an obvious curriculum link to citizenship (such as RE), but also some where there might be a link (such as History), and also some where the link is not so immediately apparent, such as Mathematics and Biology. Departmental handbooks were also examined. The Head and one of the Deputy Heads were also interviewed (prompts at Appendix I) as mentioned earlier, as a part of this examination of the school's official policies.

Other sources of data were the official and other documentation - the staff handbook, academic syllabuses, code of behaviour, weekly news sheets - which give information about the official view of relationships and of the curricula which may include some aspects of education for

citizenship. The "Code of Behaviour", for example, gives rights, rules and responsibilities for both pupils and staff.

Five exercise books were filled or partly filled with "field notes" which include descriptions of visits to the school and observations made during interviews and during lessons. There are also notes on observations made during walks around the school, especially at break time and lunch time, commenting on the interaction of pupils and staff. This provided another angle for triangulation of information, checking that the ideas and impressions conveyed during interviews, or from documentation, seem to be matched by observable reality. In addition to lessons, the researcher observed and made notes on assemblies, meal-times and an open evening. All these notes were valuable in both gaining a more complete picture of the institution being studied, and in establishing what Becker (1970) has described as a hierarchy of credibility. Not everything said in interviews could be believed, but what seemed to accord with observations was felt to be more reliable than statements that seemed at variance from observable reality. Other data was collected in the form of other school ephemera - notices for pupils, leaflets produced for the open evening, and articles collected from the local press.

Obviously their socialising. We had a ... community centre ... it's run by Christians but extremely low key. The youth workers come into school at lunchtime and they run a lot of activities, take them on trips and things. That's important to the children. But some of them, but the Muslims, they go off to Saturday morning school. They go down town, their friends.

I think most people would say there's a different way the children act when they're in school and then when they're with their family or when they're with their peer group. What do you think's the right way for them to act, say, when they're in school? Do you think there should be a difference between the way they act and the way they act when they're in school?

There's tension there because when I started teaching, especially here, I would always pick up children who were throwing themselves against each other in the corridor and things, and then I would find that it was brother or it was next-door neighbour and you'd realise that you'd actually misread and it was not threatening and just the way they related to each other.

Q Like an expression of affection?

Well absolutely. I got that wrong when I started teaching, I thought any kind of physical contact was bad, but I've relaxed on that. I've got a conflict here because keeping my job as stress-free as possible means that the pupils behave as quietly as possible and move around and treat me with as much respect as possible. And I've got a lot firmer I suppose, but at the same time I don't like to see a very regimented environment. It's a conflict, I don't think, when you're dealing with large groups, you can have things ... I don't like to see the assemblies being so regimented and everything, you know, absolute silence from the teachers, right there at the side but -

Q How would you like to see?

Well I'd like to see a little bit more self-discipline coming from the pupils. It's a very delicate line between encouraging self-discipline and imposing discipline, and we've got to a give a little bit of freedom for self-discipline to come. But I'm not making any kind of criticism, I'm just saying there's a tension there, isn't there?

Q How far do you think it is possible for you to reflect back to children the respect which you ex... from them?

Don't understand the question, sorry.

Q You said you liked to have the children showing you respect, and you're talking about self-discipline. I was just wondering how far you could -

You can't. You've got to earn their respect. You can't impose respect.

Q What about respecting the pupils in terms of the teacher giving them respect?

It's absolutely crucial. The most important thing.

Q How far is it possible?

Fig 2 An example of an interview transcript in the study. part of the interview with teacher A. The answer to the fin question on this page is quoted (in part) in Chapter Five

Data Processing, Analysis and Interpretation

Data was amassed during the project, from approximately 26 hours of interviews with heads, teachers and pupils, from analysis of two ring binders of school documents and other written material and from five notebooks of notes taken during direct observation of lessons and other activities at the school. From these sources the data was assembled for processing and then analysis.

The processing was time-consuming and painstaking, but the mechanical operation was relatively straightforward. Firstly all interview transcripts were read back and compared to the original tapes. Occasionally items were corrected, and more often words, phrases or sentences that had been inaudible to the transcriber were added by the researcher, either where his ear could decipher the tape, or where the sound on the tape, enhanced by the recent recollection of the interview by the researcher, could be reconstructed. Then all the pages of, for example, the pupils' interviews were numbered consecutively and each interviewee was allocated a letter of the alphabet. Thus page Q160, for example, of the pupil interviews indicated a location (p160) and which the pupil was being interviewed (Q). The allocation of letters both helped with easy reference, and avoided direct identification of individual participants. Such "coding" aided cross referencing of the analysis of similar or contrasting material. A similar procedure was adopted with all the data being examined. Exercise books of field notes were lettered, and each page within the book was numbered. All official school documents were filed in one ring folder and pages were numbered consecutively. Departmental documentation was dealt with in an identical fashion, and the two other sets of transcribed interviews were numbered and lettered in the same way that the pupil interview

transcripts had been processed. At the end of this process all data could be identified and located by its reference code.

In the analysis of the data thus identified the project then used techniques such as those described by Bogdan and Biklen (1992) and Miles and Huberman (1994). Interview transcripts, documents and field notes were analysed for meaning and, for example, references to similar topics. To some extent these were externally imposed: the choice of questions for the interview prompts, and the selection by the researcher of which topics to pursue in interviews inevitably led to some similarities of themes if not of meaning. Relationships, knowledge and practice in the broad area of education for citizenship were themes that were examined in the analysis from each source.

However, when examining the data collected during the interviews, the quantity and "thickness" of the interviews allowed the researcher to use the process described by Lewin et al (1990). After re-reading the transcripts, the researcher attempted to identify themes that were emerging from the interviews and the concerns that were being expressed, for example, by the pupils themselves. This was especially helpful in attempting to construct a provisional picture of the general world view of pupils. For example the researcher's notes of this stage indicate that a "very parochial view" was emerging. A "lack of a sense of engagement" in decision making in any area of life seemed to the researcher to be characteristic of many respondents. These themes began to trigger other questions, and the researcher had noted, for example, "where are the best friends, who do they share secrets with, who do they trust?"

Nonetheless the main analysis followed from re-reading the interview transcripts several times, each reading being undertaken with a different question in mind. This helped the analysis of the transcripts for meanings as well as references to similar topics. Different coloured highlighter pens were useful in this process, indicating passages in the transcripts which appeared to be relevant to similar topics. Notes were added to the transcripts in different coloured pens or pencils to draw out the significances of particular sections, to elucidate meanings. For example when teacher C described his procedures for dismissing a class, the researcher added the word "order" in red biro near the highlighted passage to indicate the emphasis that this teacher placed on the need for an orderly approach to life in the classroom. Where the same teacher described the quiet atmosphere he insisted on in the classroom and explained this by saying "I just can't work in an atmosphere where it's so noisy" (C54), the researcher added the word "pupils?" in blue ink next to the word "I". This queried the possible significance of the teacher explaining his classroom procedure by referring to his own needs, not those of his pupils.

These procedures and techniques thus started the analysis of the data. Bogdan and Biklen (1992: 153) explained the purpose and process of analysis as follows:

> Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes and other materials that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others. Analysis involves working with data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, synthesising them, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others. For most, the end products of research are books, papers, presentations, or plans for action. Data analysis moves you from the rambling pages of description to those products.

Miles and Huberman (1994: 8) describe three main approaches to the analysis of qualitative data; interpretivism (linked with Dilthey, 1977), social anthropology, and thirdly collaborative social research, which is close to an action-research approach, as described by Whyte (1991). The first approach aims at a "deep understanding" of the phenomenon being studied; the second uses various sources for data to elaborate a description of the position being studied; the third aims at changing the situation being studied. Of these three approaches the present project is closest to the second - a "social anthropological" approach. It is close to what Van Maanen (1979: 611) described as an approach which aims to "uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take action and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation," in the case of the present project, in relation to citizenship education.

A useful checklist of advice of how to start analysis is provided by Webb (1990) which includes points such as "look for omissions in the data. Were there issues that you expected to come up but did not? How might you explain this? Could it be related to the way in which you conducted the research?". She also recommends that the researcher should "suggest interpretations of the data, and from the interpretations develop hypotheses or grounded theories". (p253).

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) point out that whereas quantitative research has an extensive literature dealing with analysis, qualitative research analysis has not commanded so much attention. They recommend some field analysis as the data is being collected, but suggest that most analysis be left until all the data has been gathered in. They then suggest taking a break, and letting the mind clear before starting on the process of reading, and sifting material.

Provisional analysis was undertaken, but the final analysis was left until data gathering was completed.

Vulliamy (1990: 100) believes that one advantage of qualitative research is to "get inside the perspectives of respondents", and to generate hypotheses from such perspectives. In contrast with Bogdan and Biklen, he recommends preliminary analysis in the field, so that collection and analysis of the data occurs concurrently. Emerging issues can then be addressed in a modified interview schedule. The list of more than 70 questions framed by Entwhistle and Nisbet (1972: 304) includes a helpful set on the interpretation of findings, which include questions such as "Are alternative explanations of the results evaluated?", or "Is the borderline between evidence and speculation made clear?".

Eleven steps for drawing conclusions out of data are suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994: 242) once data is reduced by coding and sorting. They recommend the use of matrix displays of the "reduced" (or summarised) data so that the whole range of information can be scanned. The patterns which emerge may suggest tentative conclusions which should be verified against the data, and checked against rival or alternative explanations. In the current project this was undertaken in each of the three levels of the study, and more details of how this was done in each case are given in the following chapters, and also toward the end of this chapter.

From the collected data in the form of notes, transcripts, observations and documents, hypotheses began to emerge by analytic induction. Denzin (1978) describes the seeking out of evidence which will disprove hypotheses, and thus test and refine tentative conclusions which begin to emerge from analysis of the research data. Vulliamy (1990) recommends that

the researcher tries to think out possible explanations for any puzzling findings, and then seek ways of testing out these possible explanations. Bogdan and Biklen (1992: 162) also recommend that the researcher freely uses "metaphors, analogies and concepts" when reviewing the data gathered in order to avoid the problem of "nearsightedness" which might handicap a researcher in interpreting his results. Miles and Huberman (1994: 11) describe how "lightly held" provisional conclusions should be gradually verified in data analysis, so that final conclusions are well grounded by the evidence of the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The researcher in the present project was aware of Lewin (et al) (1990: 139) warning of analysis tending to confirm prior hunches, but "missing some important attributes of the data which had not been anticipated". He also warns that all researchers tend to collect too much data, thus generating consequential difficulties of deciding what to leave out. In a memorable turn of phrase he warns that "paralysis by analysis" must be avoided.

The technique of triangulation is one way of attempting to ensure the reliability of the findings of the project, as described, for example, by Cohen and Manion (1980: 215). They refer to research carried out by Cannell and Kahn (1967) where interviewees gave very misleading answers on the subject of their bank accounts, often mentioning fewer accounts than they actually had, and usually understating the balances held in each account. Some of the responses to questions in interviews for the current project may have been influenced, for example, by feelings of anxiety or friendliness towards the interviewer. Some of the respondents may not have wished to sound too critical of the status quo at the school being researched, for example, and their responses may have therefore been modified. Similarly the attitudes and prejudices of the interviewer cannot be screened out completely, and so some

significant points undoubtedly passed by in the interviews without being followed up adequately. For most interviews an audio-recording was made which was then transcribed, but in three cases notes had to be made during the interview, which inevitably distracted some of the attention of the researcher. These notes were written and expanded after the interviews, but it is acknowledged that this will have resulted in some bias being introduced at that stage, if only through the selection of which words and phrases the researcher decided were worth recording.

The interview transcripts were read through several times, and items which could be significant to the research were highlighted. After reading the transcript a rough colour code was used. In the interview extracted in Fig. 2, yellow broadly linked references to relationships, blue to affective aspects of the educational experience pupils might have had in that teacher's classroom, and pink for any citizenship practice that teacher might have given her pupils. Questions which were prompted by the transcripts were noted in the margins of the transcript, together with notes drawing out possible significance of particular statements.

These marginal notes and questions sometimes helped to focus on an issue, such as the question of staff treating pupils with dignity and respect. This question was not understood by teacher A in the extract of her interview transcript at Fig. 2. The marginal note of the researcher reads "interesting - was the concept unusual or was it the way I expressed it?"

In interviews with teachers B, C and D, the question was phrased differently: in terms of the legitimacy of pupils and teachers raising their voices at each other (teacher B); in terms of

giving reasons to pupils for classroom management decisions (teacher C); and in terms of role modelling respectful behaviour (teacher D).

Field notes of visits, and notes of lesson observations, and official documents were analysed in a similar fashion. These notes and highlights helped form some hypotheses, or even "lightly held" (Miles and Huberman, 1994) provisional conclusions, such as the respect accorded to pupils by staff or the uneven interpretation of fundamental whole-school policies by staff, or the views of society held by pupils. These provisional conclusions were checked against evidence from other sources and verified or discounted as final conclusions, as the final analysis of data was undertaken.

The final analysis of the data broadly followed the methods suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) described earlier in this chapter. Firstly items relating to similar themes were identified from the data. This was partly pre-determined (similar themes had been discussed in interviews for example), and partly it arose from the data itself. The three major themes which were related to the principal research question on education for citizenship, relationships, knowledge and practice were kept in mind, but other patterns were also sought. Responses to similar questions were compared methodically. For example all the pupil responses to the questions which probed why they would help others were compared (page 2B of pupil analysis). The references to answers were given together with a precis of the pupil's viewpoint, for example "L98 - reciprocate; F57 - it feels good; P116 - care about friends a lot; etc" (see appendix VI).

However an example of a theme which emerged from the interview transcripts themselves was the problem of how to deal with those who break the rules or do things which make others miserable. The researcher headed this section "Confusion about how to sort out wrong doers (see also lack of involvement)" thus cross referencing a similar cell of information on a related theme. The reference and a precis was again added, for example "F55 - I don't know - always problem; F96 - you can't really stop them; P116 - report to staff; M127 - smoking - we said they smelled - take mickey; etc" (see appendix VII).

In the analysis of staff interviews, statements relating to relationships, knowledge and practice were identified and referenced. Then the statements were themselves analysed to contrast the teachers' espoused theory with their possible practice. In the knowledge section, for example, teachers' views on democracy were contrasted with what they said they actually did in class, especially in regard to inconsistency. These comparisons in the main just used reference codes for the supporting evidence (see appendix VII) although some notes were added for particularly illuminating references. This "cell" approach to the analysis of the data was valuable in being able to review evidence, and to cross reference it with data from other sources.

The researcher was encouraged by the writings of Cane and Schroder (1970) which indicated that the simple act of being involved in this kind of research, as an interviewee, had been found to be worthwhile by subjects, whatever the conclusions reached by the research project. A number of pupils and teachers in the present project thanked the researcher for his interest in them. The deputy head said it had been helpful for him to be made to think about the questions raised during his interview.

The following three chapters set out the findings of the data analyses, presented in the three areas which were investigated (the official level, the practitioner level and the pupil level). In each area data from interviews, from observations and from documentation were included in the analyses, so that the findings were checked against alternative explanations, and by a kind of triangulation process. The findings of these next three chapters are then considered together in Chapter Seven, where the researcher attempts to synthesise the findings and construct an overview of teaching and learning citizenship in an English comprehensive school, and thus fulfil one of the main research objectives of the project.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: THE SCHOOL AND ITS OFFICIAL POLICY

The School - A Brief Description

The school chosen to be the site of the study (referred to as "school C" hereinafter) had many features typical of an English comprehensive secondary school. It was one of a group of comprehensive schools serving a medium sized provincial town. Its main catchment area stretched from the town centre to the outskirts of the town, giving it a suburban location, but a mixed socio-economic enrolment. At the time of the study the school roll reached almost 600, 11-16 boys and girls, with slightly more boys than girls. A system of sixth form colleges in the town catered for post-16 education. The main intake was from four primary schools and there was a system of liaison and pre-entry visits as well as open evenings for parents of children approaching the age of transfer.

There was a staff of 38 teachers (including 8 part-timers) at the time of the study. 60% of the members of the full time staff were females, and all but one of the part time members of staff were female. The head teacher was female, but the two deputies were male. There was one member of an ethnic minority amongst the teaching staff.

The school was housed in a range of buildings which surround a very attractive garden quadrangle, and back onto adequate sports fields. The main buildings were on two floors and dated from the 1930s, but had been extensively refurbished within the last few years (including brickwork being steam cleaned), giving the school a much more modern feel. Buildings have been added and adapted over the decades, mostly successfully. A collection of temporary

classrooms encroaching on the playing fields were now under-used and were scheduled for removal. The classrooms were mostly well-equipped, and many had been recently carpeted. Furniture was of variable age and condition, but the rooms usually had bright and recent displays of work.

There was inadequate accommodation for two of the school's corporate activities, however. The room which was used for assemblies and as a dining hall was built for a much smaller school population. Assemblies had to be held in two sittings with the head and deputies presenting two performances of practically every notice and talk. The dining arrangements were slightly better, in that a staggered cafeteria style lunch session meant that all pupils filtered through in one continuous sitting, but the sitting often exceeded the time allotted, and the member of staff on dining hall duty was often there well after the duty period had officially ended at 12.45. The school had worked hard to make an otherwise uninspiring hall look attractive. Dining took place on the stage area as well as the main part of the hall. Teachers paid for meals and ate at a table on the stage. There was very little mixing of staff and pupils.

A large library provided academic resources for every subject. There were good IT facilities throughout the school. There were other good features including a year 11 coffee bar, and good community education facilities.

Pupils were taught in mixed ability groups for most subjects to start with, but banding and setting were gradually introduced even in year 7 (e.g. in languages and mathematics). For pastoral (and some teaching) purposes each of the five year groups was divided into four or five tutor groups, averaging around 30 pupils in each. The groups met twice a day with the

form tutor for short registration periods, but once a week there was an 80 minute period for pastoral matters. Year heads oversaw a broad personal and social education (PSE) programme for these longer periods. Form tutors, in theory, stayed with the same form group for the whole of the pupils' five years at the school.

The management of the school was vested in the head and the two deputies and the business manager. Three other senior members of the teaching staff joined with the core senior management team (SMT) at a monthly meeting of the extended SMT. One of the deputies had a general oversight of the pastoral/PSE aspect of the school, but detailed co-ordination of the PSE programme was the responsibility of one of the year heads. Full staff meetings only took place once a year,** but there were twice-weekly full staff briefing meetings, and frequent meetings of departments, year tutors etc, which cumulatively meant that roughly 89 hours per year were spent by members of the teaching staff in meetings.

There was a student council which met weekly with one or two senior members of staff present. The council had seats for two representatives from each form tutorial group, but rarely had a full quota of representatives, and rarely a full attendance of those nominated as representatives. It had no written constitution, but seemed to be permitted to discuss a wide variety of issues including security, uniform and the environment. Decisions of the school council seemed to be subject to approval by the deputy head who attended meetings and ultimately by the headteacher, so the council may be said to have had the power to make recommendations on any of the matters it discussed.

** However, each staff development day started with a full staff meeting, and additional full staff meetings could be called if required.

Introduction

The first level chosen for investigation was that of the official school policy. As with all levels this was examined from multiple perspectives to provide as full and accurate a range of data as was possible in the time available. Official school documents were gathered and inspected (e.g. School Prospectus, Staff Handbook, Code of Behaviour, Governor's Report, weekly school newsletters, etc.). The two central school officials (head and deputy head) with PSE oversight were observed and interviewed. In addition, official school occasions were observed (assemblies, open evenings, for example). Data which might have a bearing on the kind of citizenship attitudes being encouraged in the school was collected from all of these sources. For example, the structure of the school itself might reveal whether there was any official acknowledgement of the viewpoint of pupils through any consultative procedure. It might also reveal whether any areas of school life were actually put under the control of pupils. Similarly, the structure might indicate whether the staff had any means of participating in the decision-making processes of the school. If the school structure does not value the contribution which the teachers can make, it might influence the kind of citizenship qualities that teachers themselves think they should, in turn, be encouraging amongst pupils.

The data from these multiple sources was examined for aspects which would indicate whether pupil participation was allowed or encouraged. The data was also analysed to see what knowledge of political structures and processes was thought to be important to pupils, and whether any practice of these forms was either allowed or encouraged.

Clear responsibility for aspects of personal and community life have been recognised as an important part of citizenship (Chapter One), so the data was reviewed to see what roles the

school expected for its pupils. The official policies might, for instance, be important in encouraging a sense of belonging and identification with the institution, and this aspect was also examined.

Attitudes, as has been noted in Chapter Two, are in some senses more important to active citizenship than knowledge on its own. Davies (1993:165) has criticised most civic education programmes as failing to touch the key element of motivation. Rowe (1995:1), writing of primary education, makes a point which can apply equally well to all levels of education:

> Knowledge of parliamentary processes alone will do nothing to encourage pro-social attitudes or reduce juvenile offending. Citizenship education must therefore adopt a fuller, multi-dimensional model in which knowledge and understanding develop alongside values and attitudes.

The data was also interrogated to see what values seemed to be advocated by its staff and policy particularly in relation to the dignity of each individual. It was also posited at the outset in this study that the attitudes of pupils may also be influenced by the central policies of the school which begged the question: what kind of things seemed to be rewarded as well as punished?

A thorough investigation of these areas could clarify the conception of citizenship embraced by the school through its official policies. Together these aspects cover the three essentials of citizenship identified by Porter (1983) which are status, volition and competence. These essentials can be paraphrased in terms of the school in the following way: what rights and responsibilities pupils have as members of a school; whether pupils are motivated by affective aspects of the school to care about their rights and responsibilities; and whether pupils are

allowed and encouraged to practice citizenship skills and so develop an understanding of the processes of both how the school works and how they can engage with that structure.

Pupil Status and Areas of Participation

There was much in the official documentation which indicated a very positive view of pupils at school C. Typical of this tone was the advice to teaching members of staff contained in the Staff Handbook: "Respect and care for the individual student should be at the heart of all we do."

The advice continued:

> It is vital to the ethos of the school that the students should understand that they are not considered as inferior beings who make difficulties for teachers, but that the staff has chosen to teach in a school because of a genuine desire to work with young people ... We should seek to create a warm, secure environment for each student in which she/he feels that the members of staff are genuinely interested in her/him ... Students should be treated with basic politeness and courtesy even when they are in trouble at school. If you are not polite to the students we cannot expect them to be polite to us. We have to deal with some very awkward and offensive students at times but we should avoid the temptation to resort to similar behaviour, remaining cool and calm ... (section 3, p1).

This approach was reinforced in other advice that staff shall be "dignified and correct" in dealing with students. The comments which teachers put on school reports would be rejected by the head if they were sarcastic, and when rebuking pupils staff should never have come into physical contact with them.

Teachers were advised where possible to make any necessary rebukes low-key and private, to avoid the possibility either of public humiliation of the pupil or public confrontation. The governors had adopted a policy which made it clear that reprimands which belittle or are

sarcastic were unacceptable. A firm but fair policy was advocated, but emphasis was also put upon using the school's rewards policy as well, to encourage good behaviour. This links in with the values and attitudes upheld by the school.

The school, said the Prospectus, was small enough for the teachers to know everyone, and to take an interest in their welfare. It might be debatable whether all the teachers *could* know everyone in a school of 600, but as a statement of intent it was illuminative of the aim of the school. Pupils' work was valued according to the Prospectus and again personal observation of the many and changing displays of pupil work around the school tended to confirm this.

The Code of Behaviour declared that pupils not only had a right to their own opinion, but also had the right to express that opinion, in an appropriate context. It might be imagined that it would not be appropriate for a pupil to publicly disagree with the sentiments being expressed by the head during an assembly, but the implication here was that a pupil would not be admonished for seeking a meeting with the head following the assembly to discuss a difference of opinion. Observation of the school head and her relationship with pupils indicated that pupils did indeed feel confident enough to express their opinions to her.

Pupils were encouraged to think of their registration room as a "home base" (Prospectus) which must have helped pupils establish a sense of security and belonging. They were also advised of how to deal with situations if they were made to feel uncomfortable or miserable by another pupil. This procedure was explained in a document sent home with the weekly newsletter, and had been explained in assembly. It was mentioned, but not described in detail, in the Code of Behaviour, but all pupils asked in the research project confirmed that they knew

this policy and the procedures involved. Perhaps because it was assumed by the management that all teachers would follow carefully the advice on respecting and valuing pupils, there was nothing in the official documents which advised pupils in cases where they felt uncomfortable as a result of the action or words of a teacher.

The Code of Behaviour let pupils know that their welfare and well-being was important to the school. It also told pupils that they had the right to be trusted and listened to. The "Welcome" document for newcomers to the school also emphasised that the school is a place where everyone (including even the youngest pupil) was valued and respected. The Staff Handbook explicitly stated on its first page as the third of seven basic principles that "all students, regardless of ability, race or gender are of equal worth and have equally important educational needs".

The equal opportunity aspect of this principle was expanded in a governors' policy on "equal opportunities". The status of each pupil in the school, whilst not explicitly defined in legalistic or quasi-legalistic terms, was indicated to staff, pupils and parents as being of significant value. The school presented itself as a place where pupils commanded respect and were accorded dignity, and in which their needs and their views were taken seriously by the school authorities.

The status accorded to pupils did include some practical devices by which pupils could participate in the life of the school. This was indicated right at the start of the School Prospectus where pupils "are encouraged to be active and to participate both in their learning and the life of the school generally" (p3).

This declaration was shown to have some substance in reality as soon as a child was offered a place at the school. The child was invited to complete a "friendship form", a pro-forma on which they could name one or two close friends with whom they would like to be in their first form group.* There was also an invitation - or rather more than an invitation - to pupils to participate in their education by taking responsibility for their own learning. This statement in the Prospectus (p13) was not fully explained, but was supported on the same page by the expectation that the best results would be achieved by all pupils if they became "enthusiastically involved in whatever is going on in the classroom". This may have been more rhetorical than realistic, (since there can be few schools where the enthusiasm of pupils (or teachers) can be sustained throughout every lesson in the week all year) but it was, once again, an indication of the school's desire to involve pupils.

Pupils were also encouraged to participate through expressing their opinions, as noted above. Two areas where the opinions of pupils had been sought actively by the school authorities were in the drawing up of the Code of Behaviour and in the new anti-bullying policy. The first task was a major undertaking, two years ago, involving every pupil in the school being consulted on what rules, rights and responsibilities he or she thought ought to be in the Code of Behaviour. The resulting document showed that there must have been a committee, or possibly a single teacher, who sifted and sorted the suggestions into a logical and thorough, well produced document. Teacher D, interviewed in Chapter Five, said that one of the deputy heads had been responsible. The resulting "Code of Behaviour" was an attractively designed booklet illustrated with pupil drawings.

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* The school has now discontinued this procedure.

The other task, the anti-bullying policy, was undertaken by a committee of parents, staff, governors and pupils. The policy had been launched in September 1995 and seemed to be well known (and believed to be effective).

Staff were also encouraged to participate in the process of managing the school. There were two teacher governors in the school governing body, as required by national legislation. Additionally, the head teacher expected staff not only to serve on the many committees and participate in departmental and other discussions, but also to make her aware of their views. In her introduction to the Staff Handbook the head writes:

> "It is my aim to encourage and to provide the scope for the maximum participation by all staff in the formulation of school policy ... Discussions will be encouraged, and all views will receive full consideration. It is within this structure that decisions will normally be made. This is the sort of democracy which is consistent with headship ... The head will always welcome a direct approach by an individual ..."

There were, therefore, a great many indications that pupils were accorded significant status within the school, and that they were encouraged to participate, as were the staff. The negative indications in the documentation echoed more traditional views of teaching in England. For example, defiance of the authority of teachers was seen as a very serious matter, and staff were advised in the handbook to deal with it severely (section 3, p2). Is there a contradiction here between respecting individuals' views and curbing criticism of the status quo? "Defiance" may be defined very differently by individual teachers. What one teacher may regard as an outrageous impertinence another may regard as evidence of a mature sense of humour, or an enquiring mind. Asking the question "why?" could either be interpreted as a reasonable, but clumsily expressed, request for enlightenment, or as a challenge to the authority of the teacher. Since democratic societies claim that good citizens *should* challenge

the status quo, there is an obvious dilemma for the encouragement of active citizenship. There may be a similar problem with the statement in the handbook that implied that persistent disregard of the "authority" of teachers would lead to the exclusion of the pupil concerned.

In the regulations of any community it is likely that there would be some fairly arbitrary rules with which community members (pupils) would be required to conform: school C was no exception and there were rules on, for example, not bringing portable stereophonic systems into school. This was partly justified by a reference to theft and incidental damage to school property (breaking into lockers). Chewing was officially prohibited, and pupils had significant restrictions on jewellery. Neither of these latter rules was seen as reasonable by pupils, judging from the widespread disregard for them observed amongst pupils at the school. The infringement of the rules may have perhaps been possible because many members of staff did not enforce these particular restrictions rigorously, possibly because they felt a contradiction between treating a pupil with dignity and requiring him or her to remove modest jewellery etc. This question was touched on in the staff interviews (see Chapter 5) since observation revealed a number of pupils chewing and girls and boys wearing prohibited jewellery quite openly in classes. There are two points for citizenship here: firstly it may be that if the rules cannot be convincingly explained they will be disregarded, and problems may then arise. The second point is that pupils themselves may learn the lesson that although there are many rules, there are some which should be taken more seriously than others.

There were two other points which were observed at lunch times, which may be relevant to the official policies of the school. One was that staff expected to, and were expected by the pupils, to jump the meal queue. This has obvious justifications for staff in not wasting their

time queuing, but it might seem to pupils that as far as meal queues are concerned there were superior and inferior beings. The second point observed at lunch time was the almost complete segregation of staff and pupils. These arrangements might be quite natural but they may signal a "separateness" amongst pupils and staff that could inhibit the development of the atmosphere of "mutual trust and respect" which the Staff Handbook calls for.

Values and Attitudes Promoted to Pupils

There was a small community of exclusive brethren in the catchment area of school C. At the time of the study there was only one brethren pupil in the school, but there was a whole section of the Staff Handbook devoted to this community, which offered advice to staff on how they should relate to these pupils, and how they could be offered maximum access to the curriculum whilst avoiding any offence to the pupil's religious commitments. One part was an eloquent statement of values of toleration promoted by the school:

> Whatever our personal beliefs we live in a pluralist society and we must accept the right of others to organise their lives as they see fit. It is not our place to question the beliefs of others but to make sure that each pupil is happy and secure in school and that they make optimum progress academically and socially. (p27, Section 3 of Staff Handbook)

This statement was supported by school policies on equal opportunities as mentioned above.

The school was also associated with anti-racist activities, as advised to parents in the school newsletter (13 October 1995). As quoted above, the Prospectus also made it clear that the school regarded all pupils as of equal worth, whatever their ability, race or gender (p3). The Code of Behaviour indicated that the school intended that all pupils were to be treated with respect.

The school linked rights with responsibilities in the Code of Behaviour. The anti-bullying policy also made this link by stating, for example, that while every pupil had the right not to be bullied, that also involved a responsibility not to bully others and not to allow others to be bullied without a third party doing something about it.

Values of honesty and fairness were proclaimed in the Prospectus, and were echoed in the Code of Behaviour and in the Staff Handbook. Observation of pupil interaction indicated that these values were widely understood within the school, and the individual interviews with pupils (described in detail in Chapter 6) tended to confirm this.

Pupils' work was valued as shown by the attractive and extensive displays throughout the school. Almost all these displays were fresh and new, indicating a regular up-dating. However, in the few cases where displays had clearly been there for some time (as in one room observed) there was a clear risk of sending a different message to pupils about the value placed on that work.

There was a strong concern for the individual which ran through the values of the official school policies. Concern for others was highlighted on page 2 of the School Prospectus. The equal opportunities and anti-bullying policies have already been mentioned. They emphasised the equal value of each individual. Staff were urged to attempt to convey the values of the school. "The school's values need to be promoted by all staff at all times." (Staff Handbook section 3, p4)

The school Prospectus (p14) indicated that consideration of the value of family life was included when offering sex education to pupils. The PSE programme also involves consideration of the values of family and friendship. It also includes discussion of the environment, although in all parts of the description of the PSE programme the school (perhaps deliberately) does not state what position it takes on family life, for example, whether having two natural parents at home was better for children than having just one. The controversial nature of some of these questions made it almost inevitable that the school had to be vague about its approach. Nonetheless, this meant that whilst informing parents of the concepts which would be discussed, the school's description, at least in parts, did not communicate the value (if any) that the school would attempt to convey to the pupils.

The school had recently re-defined its rewards policy to balance the well-established punishments procedure. This sophisticated scheme was described in the Staff Handbook, ranging from praise through to the Governor's Award, with discussion of circumstances where the awards could be helpful. There was also provision for group awards. None of the pupils interviewed mentioned this as one of the features which made the school a satisfactory or better institution for them. This could mean that the staff were not using the rewards procedures, or that the pupils were too modest to mention the scheme, or that the pupils did not value the scheme.

The Staff Handbook reminded teachers that their approach to pupils had a great impact on pupil attitudes. On the first page of the Handbook this was made clear:

> Colleagues will note that our entire array of attitudes - our manner of speaking and addressing, our attendance and punctuality, the degree of preparedness of

> lessons and in our own enthusiasm for teaching and learning - does have an unavoidable impact on the pupils we teach ...

This point was reinforced in the third section (p4) of the Handbook:

> Staff can do much to influence pupils' attitudes towards the school by the manner in which they treat them.

General observation indicated that staff attitudes were positive. Members of staff in private (see staff interviews, Chapter 5) spoke positively about pupils. Lessons seemed to be conducted in respectful atmospheres, and all staff were dressed to a high standard, following clear examples set by the head and deputies. Teachers generally seemed to take up the Handbook's requirement to be polite, dignified and respectful towards pupils.

The school was concerned to create and maintain a positive attitude, according to official policies. A working party on "creating a positive culture" had recently reported and all departments had responded. There were a number of projects in hand aimed at improving the school culture still further, as a part of the school development plan (SDP). These included the promotion of the school's anti-bullying policy, replacing the former school withdrawal unit with an on-call system for middle management, implementing and evaluating the "consistent school approaches policy" and implementing and reviewing the reward system.

An initiative had also been undertaken across all departments, focusing attention on "spiritual development" across the curriculum. There were, however, some aspects of the school policies which staff and pupils seemed to find confusing or even undermining of official values. As mentioned earlier, the school rules on chewing gum, or on excessive jewellery, did not seem to be understood or accepted by many pupils, and have seemed to them to be

petty, and to that extent these rules may have corroded pupil feelings towards school (see Chapter 6).

The bald statement in the School Prospectus that pupils "will be punished if they are regularly late" (p6) without any qualification, seemed discordant with the tone of much which had gone before, which emphasised a happy atmosphere and stressed that parents were partners (p2).

Finally, one of the concerns raised by members of the teaching staff (see Chapter 5), *and* by pupils (see Chapter Six) was the lack of consistency in implementation of the school policies. This was particularly mentioned about classroom management and the balance between the authority of the teacher, and the respect for pupils.

Curriculum and Practice

The school official policies had less to say about the contribution of individual subjects to education for citizenship. This was unsurprising since the details of each departmental syllabus, i.e. the areas of knowledge to be conveyed to pupils - tended to be matters for the departmental handbooks rather than central policy. The detail of how some subjects contributed to education for citizenship will therefore be considered in the next chapter. The principles of the curriculum were explained in the Prospectus and there were some general comments about the cross-curricular and "extra" programmes offered by the school (such as PSE), but even when items in the curriculum were mentioned the references were brief and therefore a little imprecise. All subject departments were, however, expected to support and implement the principles of the whole-school curriculum, including the cross curricular themes.

In the central policies there tended therefore to be more reference to practical applications of citizenship than to the details of the knowledge which is to be provided to pupils. There was, at the time of the study, no central, whole-school, handbook for PSE, but years 10 and 11 provision was clearer and included areas such as politics and community involvement.

In general the Prospectus showed that the school aimed to provide pupils with the knowledge they need to prepare for life after school, and to allow all pupils to develop their talents and interests. There were references to specific curriculum areas such as health education, industrial awareness and experience, and drama as a means of exploring some issues. The core curriculum was mentioned only in terms of organisation (pp 8-10 in the Prospectus), there being an assumption that most readers would know what was meant by English, Mathematics and Science, although there would be no way of the reader telling, from the Prospectus, what topics were covered, at what stage, in these subjects. This was particularly true for subjects like History or Geography where the one subject could cover a legion of topics and approaches. However, reference was made to the National Curriculum (NC) with a strong implication that if anyone wished to know the curriculum details, they could refer to NC documents. The organisation of the curriculum appeared to aim at equal access to knowledge for all pupils. The school operated a setting, rather than streaming, policy which kept pupils in mixed ability for pastoral tutorial groups. However, it was the aim of the school that the needs of all pupils would be met. "Particularly able pupils and pupils who need learning support are identified at a very early stage and all staff are made aware of their needs." (Prospectus p8)

There were also several areas of practical application of citizenship knowledge mentioned in the school's central documents, which implied that pupils would either be taught citizenship knowledge in a practical mode, or that they would be equipped with knowledge to apply in practical situations. These included community service (Prospectus p15), collaboration in groups (Prospectus p13) and interpersonal relationships (Prospectus p14).

As examples of how these skills might be developed, the collaboration of pupils with parents, staff and governors in drawing up the anti-bullying policy must have given those involved much practical knowledge on processes of negotiation and advocacy. Similar skills will also have been involved for the pupils who were representative members of the School Council. The successes of this body have been highlighted in the Governors' Report to parents (Summer 1995). The School Prospectus also stated that the Council gives pupils a formal voice in the running of the school. "The council meets weekly and has a considerable and responsible impact on decision-making" (p19). The activities and achievements of the School Council were reported to parents in the school newsletter (e.g. 3rd November 1995).

Participation by all students was officially encouraged by the school in several ways. The school Code of Behaviour ("written by the pupils and accepted by us all" - Newsletter 15th September 1995) involved consulting all pupils. However, this was done during school year 1993/4, and was too long ago for it to have been experienced by roughly 40% of the pupils at the school at the time of the study (year 7 and year 8). The aim of pupils taking "responsibility for their own learning" (Prospectus p13) might also have been seen as a participative learning climate, as might pupil involvement in the assessment of their own work and progress (p17, Section 3 of Staff Handbook). Indeed, the school expected pupils to

exercise the responsibility of contributing their opinions (p4, Code of Behaviour) and to exercise responsible stewardship of form rooms at lunch time, for example, (p8, Code of Behaviour). Practice of team work was given in several areas of the curriculum, as indicated in the School Prospectus (p13).

As one example of this there was the school's involvement in the Motorola mock parliamentary debating competition, something which the head herself introduced, and in which all year 11 pupils had the chance to participate. The school had done well in this competition, coming regional 3rd twice, and 2nd once. The event required knowledge of parliamentary procedures before pupils could practice debating and raising questions. This "mock" debate was followed by a visit to the real Houses of Parliament in London (Head addressing prospective parents 15 November 1995).

In years 9 and 11 pupils had the chance to participate in community projects, and in year 11 this was compulsory. The projects may have involved working with the elderly, for example (Head, 15th November 1995). The school newsletter of 13th October 1995 described a co-operative school decoration project organised by the school Parent, Teacher and Friends Association (PTFA) which involved pupils and well as parents and others. The school was proud of its relationship with parents, especially through the PTFA, but it was not possible for the researcher to observe an activity of the PTFA to make an independent assessment.

The participative ethos of the school was limited by the teaching arrangements, of course, which meant that while pupils were encouraged to give their opinions, this had to be only when they "are allowed to" (p4, Code of Behaviour), and that pupils otherwise had the

responsibility "to find appropriate times and places to be listened to" (p5, Code of Behaviour). The message for staff in the Handbook (p2, Section 3) might be considered slightly confusing when staff are advised that "pupils rely on us to insist that they behave themselves well". This may have been offered to staff as a reminder for them to insist on high standards, but it did have an implication that pupils would not be able to behave themselves without staff intervention, which jarred with the overall tone of the official school policies.

Summary

The emphasis of the school's policies was clearly towards participation and trust, but for both pupils and staff there may have been contradictory hints either for those who wished to be pedantic, or those who wished to justify alternative approaches.

The central policies of school C encouraged staff to respect pupils as individuals and to value their opinions. There were channels, such as a School Council, for pupils to express themselves, and their views had been sought when the code of behaviour and anti-bullying policies were formed. The authority of teachers was also stressed and staff were required to uphold a set of rules which may not be have been accepted in its entirety by pupils, for example, in reference to chewing and personal appearance. Tolerance, honesty and fairness were all urged by the school's policies. There were policies to reward good behaviour.

Some of the almost inevitable contradictions and inconsistencies at school C have been identified. The next chapters explore how the interpretation of school policies by staff influences the actual education for citizenship being received by the pupils themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: THE TEACHER'S CONTRIBUTION

Introduction

The examination of whole school policies in chapter four showed that the school was officially very positive about education for citizenship, despite the contra-indicators identified. Its central policies as a whole appeared to promote an active, participative concept of citizenship which should prepare pupils appropriately to take their place as adults in the liberal democratic society of Europe in the late twentieth century. Staff were requested to respect the personal views of pupils, to encourage pupil participation in many aspects of school life, including taking responsibility for their own learning, and to do all possible to ensure that pupils could develop to the maximum of their personal and intellectual potential.

However, in the classroom process of teaching and learning, the teachers' interpretation of policies will inevitably involve tensions between personal views and the collective policies of the school. Traditionally, the English school system has allowed great flexibility (professional autonomy) to teachers to interpret policies within their own classrooms. The introduction of the National Curriculum at the beginning of the 1990s was seen by some as an attempt to limit this autonomy over curricular matters. However classroom autonomy in style of teaching and discipline is still a precious right within the profession. This chapter will use interviews with teachers, classroom observations and departmental documents to construct a view of the teachers' contribution to education for citizenship at school C.

The Formal Curriculum

As described in the previous chapter school C aimed to promote education for citizenship formally through the curriculum. This was mainly through a personal and social education (PSE) syllabus, and through the religious education (RE) syllabus. At school C departmental syllabuses were devised by the teachers in that department, rather than being imposed on departments by the school management team, although they were subject to central approval, and related to the National Curriculum. Because the departmental handbooks and detailed syllabuses originated with practitioners they are considered as a part of the teachers' contribution to education for citizenship in this study. All departments made reference to the cross-curricular theme of education for citizenship in each departmental handbook. History for example states:

> Citizenship: this involves the analysis of multi-cultural society, changing roles in the home and the development of universal suffrage. History lends itself well to citizenship education as it offers a background to structures of established society.

At the time of this study the history department was actively considering whether to expand this brief reference, but at least the department acknowledged that it had some contribution to make to education for citizenship. In addition, several of the history departmental aims were relevant to education for citizenship, for example:

> To understand that the past was different from the present, and that people of other times and places may have had different values and attitudes than ours;
> To distinguish between historical facts and the interpretation of these facts.

The RE syllabus included reference to study of laws and rules, morality and commitment, all of which had relevance to education for citizenship, as had the study of human rights which took place in RE at Key Stage (KS) four.

The previous chapter revealed that the PSE programme, unfortunately, had not been committed to paper at the time of this study, except for years ten and eleven (KS4). However the topics covered at KS4 include detailed syllabuses on citizenship, parliament, sex education, careers, moral issues, personal finance, parenting, community rights and human rights. All of these were significant in education for citizenship. The syllabus for years seven, eight and nine was less clear, because it had not been agreed in written form.

However, factual knowledge and formal consideration of moral questions are only part of education for citizenship. The OFSTED document on spiritual, moral, social and cultural development (1994) drew attention to the important connection between knowledge and attitudes in education for citizenship. Point 18 of its checklist of items to be considered read:

> "In preparing pupils for citizenship, what is the balance to be struck between the instilling of knowledge and understanding, and the promotion of attitudes and abilities?"

While the formal curriculum is therefore relatively easy to identify and describe, chapter two showed that there is also a role for the affective as well as the cognative aspects of schooling in education for citizenship (Turiel 1983, Burkimsher et al 1991, John and Osborn 1992). The affective aspects of schooling may be conveyed as much, or more, through a school's hidden curriculum. Curtis (1990:150) defines this as follows:

> The hidden curriculum refers to those elements in the structure of the educational process which are formative and educative, but which do not figure explicitly in the public programme of schooling.

Such elements might include the character of teachers, or assumed values, which would influence, for example, development of desirable character traits of pupils (King 1990) or

development of good taste (Phillips, 1990). Some aspects of the hidden curriculum at school C will be explored in the next section.

The Informal Curriculum

"Teachers influence their pupils" (Cullingford, 1990: 178). But how and in what ways depends on the circumstances, the personalities of the teachers and pupils and many other variables. The influence partly derives, according to Cullingford (1990) from the fact that "schools are relatively small organizations in which personal relationships are very important". This personal relationship can be very significant in the affective development of pupils, in whether they are happy at school for example. In research by Getzels and Smilansky (1983) problems linked with the attitude and styles of teachers were identified far more frequently by pupils as being "problems connected with school" than any other matter.

> Although there are problems with fellow pupils and with school regulations, it is evident that the salient problem is the "unfairness" of teachers; this includes complaints that teachers do not treat all pupils equally, they indulge in unjust punishments, or they simply do not care about their pupils. Of particular note is that, despite the open-ended nature of the (research) instrument with no cue to call attention to this grievance, a full 45% of the pupils state this as a problem. (p313)

Although this research was carried out in American schools it did highlight the significance of the relationship between teacher and pupil in shaping attitudes. In chapter three it was pointed out that education for citizenship is linked to the affective part of development, as well as to the cognitive. These two aspects featured prominently in the National Curriculum Council's Curriculum Guidance No 8 (1990). Schools were advised to provide (1) the information which pupils would be able to use and (2) a basis for developing their own "skills, values and attitudes". In fact, of course, the two cannot be separated in the way that

the NCC implied; the manner in which information is provided will often shape pupils' attitudes towards it. (John and Osborn 1992). They showed that the attitudes of pupils where information was delivered in a "traditional" manner were measurably different from the attitudes acquired by pupils in a school where more "democratic" methods were used. It was possible that the content of the syllabus (ie the actual information supplied to pupils) also varied, but this would not have undermined the main finding of the research: that differing climates of respective schools seem to have had a measurable effect on citizenship attitudes of their pupils. Everyday experience also shows how the same facts can be deliberately construed by lawyers or politicians to produce either positive or negative responses. It is therefore unreasonable to expect that all teachers will be able to refrain from deliberately or unconsciously making a value judgment about information they are required to supply to their pupils, particularly where that information is itself the subject of vigorous public debate, eg crime and punishment.

The "Oracle" project at Leicester University in the late 1970s investigated the differing impacts of various teaching styles on pupils (Galton and Simon, 1980) and found differences not only in the learning outcomes, but also in children's attitudes to their work. This could and does manifest itself in levels of boredom. Considerable variations in the "boredom factor" was also one of the findings of research by Keys and Fernandes, 1993. Using a quantitative methodology the researchers found that 7.5% of year 9 pupils felt that most school lessons were boring (and another 1.4% felt that *all* lessons were boring). As well as teachers' personalities and teaching style this might also be accounted for by pupil intelligence levels, learning difficulties, home attitudes and other factors.

However other findings of the same researchers indicated that the relationship between pupils and teachers may, at least in part, have contributed to these results. For example, Keys and Fernandes (1993:1.28) found that 85.1% of year 9 pupils liked all, most or some of their teachers, whereas 14.5% liked none or hardly any. The same teachers evidently could produce very different attitudes amongst the same group of pupils. They could also receive different responses from different age groups. For example year 7 pupils felt much more positive towards teachers, with about 60% of this year group liking all or most of their teachers, compared with just under 40% of year 9 pupils.

This may have particular significance in education for citizenship, because some of the values which are central to the ideas of citizenship are probably conveyed more as a result of the pupil-teacher relationship than as a result of a formal syllabus.

> However the teaching (sic) of values is organized in the timetable, it must, to be effective, be based upon good teacher-pupil relationships, the encouragement of reflection, an experiential mode and pupil responsibility for the learning process. (Edwards 1996: 175).

In this relationship the teacher inevitably communicates something of his or her own values consciously or unconsciously. The teacher is, therefore, a kind of filter through which information is passed, and moreover a filter which is likely to process information, giving it a flavour of the teacher's own. In relation to citizenship values, the very style which a teacher adopts for his or her teaching may convey to pupils the teacher's ideas of good citizenship; style is likely to be influenced by the teacher's own values and attitudes. Teachers who feel they need to be at the centre of classroom work may wish to put more emphasis on a quiet orderly classroom environment. A teacher who sees his or her role as being a resource for pupils may be more concerned with creating a questioning and experimenting environment,

possibly at the expense of quiet. These two contrasting classroom atmospheres might convey very different ideas of what attitudes constitute good citizenship, from quiet obedience, to less quiet questioning. Putting this in more political terms, is good citizenship passive acceptance or active participation?

Inconsistency of Experience

a) Classroom Organization

The NCC discussion document on spiritual and moral development (1993) makes a clear link between teachers' methods or the classroom behaviour they allow, and education in values and morality.

> Values are inherent in *teaching*. Teachers are, by the nature of their profession "moral agents" who imply values by the way they address pupils and each other, the way they dress, the language they use and the effort they put into their work. (p8).

Given that teachers are free spirits and not machines, it is inevitable that all of these aspects will vary from teacher to teacher: that there will be to a greater or lesser extent inconsistency in the experience of pupils even within the same school.

Despite its inevitability, the inconsistency between teachers was something which caused concern for all the teachers interviewed at school C. They sometimes urged that other teachers should be more consistent. For example, teacher D criticized the "code of behaviour" for not being sufficiently clear on sanctions "there was always "something will happen to you" but was not really a well-defined system of what was going to happen to them ... I don't think they were as aware of the parameters around what they were doing, as far as the school was concerned, as they ought to be." As a result, according to teacher D, teachers were not sure

what punishment to administer for what behaviour, and the pupils did not know what retribution certain kinds of behaviour would invite.

But even if the "code" were much more specific as a tariff of punishments, comments from some teachers quoted below would suggest that staff would still be selective about imposing sanctions. In other words teachers would still be inconsistent in the application of the code of behaviour even if it were made much more prescriptive on punishments for pupils. It was likely therefore that the citizenship experience for pupils within different classrooms would thus continue to lack coherence perhaps inevitably. This was picked up with some sympathy in an observation by teacher B:

> It's difficult for the kids. They're doing one thing in one lesson that may be breaking school rules, but the teacher isn't picking them up on it, and then the next teacher says "you're breaking the school rules. Go to the head of department!" It must be quite confusing. They need to know where they stand.

This potential confusion, mentioned by teacher B, had implications for the citizenship attitudes being transmitted to pupils. It was not so much the official syllabus, but the manner of its delivery which was influential in shaping citizenship attitudes of pupils, as described in the research of John and Osborn (1992). It was possible, even within the same school, for one teacher to adopt an authoritarian approach to classroom management, but for another to have a very participative approach. Even within school C, with its enlightened central policies, the traditional teacher autonomy cherished by practitioners in England meant that teachers could exercise more authoritarian roles within their classrooms, and thus perhaps transmit more authoritarian messages about what constitutes "good order".

Despite the sympathy expressed by teacher B for pupils who may have been confused by the different values being transmitted in different classrooms, all teachers interviewed were quite relaxed about discussing their own contribution to the inconsistency of citizenship education for their pupils through their personal interpretations of school policies. Teacher A spoke of her tolerant attitudes towards those who had not done their homework, while teacher B said that he had his own classroom code that pupils have to get used to. Teacher C said that what some other teachers allowed in their classrooms he would punish in his, since he would not consider it to be suitable behaviour. Teacher D said she pretended "not to notice" breaches of some school rules on some occasions. She went on to add: "I think I can understand what the school strives for, but from my own working in the classroom, I think I'm probably not always what the school would want ultimately in terms of getting the system working perfectly, but then I think I often have fewer discipline problems because of my attitude to them (the pupils)."

This might be rather harshly paraphrased as saying that "other teachers have got it wrong, but I have got it right." Indeed while teacher B and teacher C at least recognized that their inconsistency in interpretation of school rules might have a problematic impact on pupils, none of the teachers interviewed admitted that they themselves might be contributing to these problems for pupils.

The major problem of inconsistency as far as education for citizenship is concerned must be that pupils will be receiving a mixed, and therefore confused, message about how to act as a good citizen. In terms of life skills it could be argued that mixed messages have advantages, because life itself is not consistent. People are different, and they react in different ways. A

joke to one person might be an insult to another. Nevertheless if the governors and administration of school C believed that, having agreed a fairly coherent set of school policies, the school was consequently transmitting a consistent and coherent set of citizenship values to pupils, the evidence suggested that they would have to reconsider their view. Perhaps, however, the governing body had accepted that the rules could not be applied uniformly, and might have to be worked out according to the reality of each situation (situational ethics). If so, this had not been made clear to staff and pupils, as this chapter and the next show. The very attempt to be consistent might have been contributing to the confusion which pupils and staff indicated.

The responses from teachers and pupils during interviews, together with the results of observations around the school, showed that the individual values of each teacher filtered the message of the school. Teachers will concentrate on what they themselves consider to be important in class - and for pupils school is largely composed of a series of separate classroom experiences punctuated by breaks and changeovers. Teacher C expressed this well when he said that some teachers have discussed attempting to standardize classroom expectations and procedures for the sake of the pupils, "because they go into one classroom and they have one set of standards, and they go into another classroom and they have another set of standards. Quite honestly I have some sympathy for them. They can't remember what set of standards there are in all the classrooms they go to. So they do have a problem to know."

The question goes well beyond not knowing how to behave in class: it also has implications for the pupil knowing how he or she should behave in society. The microcosmic societies

modelled in each classroom each contain messages about whether good citizenship is keeping quiet or questioning; active or passive; for all or for a chosen few.

In the real world it is probably impossible for a school to standardize expectations and requirements completely, unless by some extraordinary quirk all teachers share very similar personalities and beliefs. Even though at least three of the four teachers interviewed expressed the feeling that greater consistency would be better for the overall experience of the pupils, none of the teachers expressed the feeling that it would be possible for him or her personally to modify his or her classroom practice to achieve this consistency. With each of the teachers interviewed there was an expression of satisfaction that his or her own classroom practice was the best (and for the character of each particular teacher this might well have been true), but the implication was that the desirable greater consistency could only be brought about by *others* making changes in *their* classrooms.

b) An Orderly School

Edwards (1996:177) argued that as long as there is overall unity of purpose, some inconsistency is possibly a valuable thing:

> However long it is debated consistency will not be absolute. Guidelines and a broad sense of direction will be valuable in assisting teaching in helping pupils to develop their own personal sense of values. Pupils are very adaptable and perceptive. They learn from a range of adults, making their own judgments and seeing variety as an advantage, not a disadvantage.

The teachers at school C did express general sympathy and support for several whole school policies. The teachers were all committed, for example, to the anti-bullying, anti-fighting and anti-swearing policies of the school, even if they tended to pursue these in their own ways and

with different degrees of vigour. The question for the researcher was, however, whether the different approaches and emphases of the teachers, when taken together, could form a coherent full-school experience even within the areas on which all teachers could express agreement.

The idea of "order" in the school and its classrooms was one such area. All teachers in their own words expressed their belief in the importance of "order". This itself was a limited confirmation of the findings of Getzels and Smilansky (1983) that all teachers have a significant "law and order" function. The general belief seemed to be that without order no teaching or learning could take place. This went beyond the classroom, as expressed by teacher D in her particular anxiety:

> Times in the corridors. Changeover times. It just seems, that it gets out of control with children just milling around, and it didn't used to feel as bad as that. It seems to have got worse recently. I say recently, over the last couple of years, trying to get children quiet and ready to go into the class seems to be harder than it ever was before.

So it is not just in the classroom that teachers at school C feel there should be order. Teacher C told the researcher of his intervention when he saw a group of pupils acting in a suspicious manner during a playtime, even though he was not himself on duty. In this case it turned out that one boy was showing off some illegal drugs that he had acquired, and neither the boys nor the teacher expected anything less than that the teacher should immediately intervene and report the boy to the school authorities and thence to the public authorities. A message for good citizenship was certainly conveyed to the boys concerned, just as an equally clear message would have been conveyed had teacher C ignored the incident, or had decided that it was not his business.

The need to keep order was evidently a live topic of debate amongst teachers throughout school C. For example, when asked if there was any aspect of school life which tended to predominate in discussion amongst staff in the common room, teacher C replied:

> Discipline! Straight away. All the time - we are all quite concerned about discipline. We seem to be so wrapped up in policies for this and policies for that, we haven't got the time to deal with one of the fundamental things of how a school can run - and it's having some sort of discipline in the school.

In the classroom teachers had their own schemes to ensure order. Some, like teacher C, took very seriously the suggestion in the staff handbook that pupils need teachers to insist on good behaviour. His classroom was the most carefully controlled of all those observed. He described his classroom arrangements as being carefully structured, to preserve good order. For example, the end of lessons were tightly controlled by the teacher, with no pupil leaving until permitted to do so by the teacher, a row at a time:

> I even do that with year 11, that they leave a row at a time, because they are going out of the classroom in an orderly way, and the only way to go out in an orderly way is to let them out at a row at a time, rather than letting them all dive for the doors. So they know that when I say "pack away", they pack away. It works extremely well at the end of the day, because they all know that they pack away and put their chairs up and then they stand quietly ready to go. They know I won't dismiss them until they are quiet and ready to go.

This strictly controlled society with a leader giving orders contrasted with classroom societies allowed by other teachers. From the pupil's perspective a big difference between teacher C's classroom and, for example, teacher A's classroom would be seating. Teacher C (unlike most of the teachers observed) had pre-arranged seating which he controlled. Teacher A allowed pupils to choose where to sit, but moved pupils if they failed to pay attention in class, according to her judgment.

> It's quite a strong message that I'm trying to get across, that I'm human, if you treat me right. I try, I start off relaxed and get heavy when it doesn't work out.

Apart from the slightly pessimistic tone implying that the teacher expected that pupils would not respond ("*when*" it doesn't work out, not "*if*" it doesn't work out), the model of society offered here is a more limited authoritarian style, or perhaps a conditional democratic style. Whichever it was, it may have been more similar to the adult world where freedoms are usually conditional. There was at least an opportunity for pupils to participate in some aspect of their learning here - where to sit, who to sit next to, which part of the classroom they found most congenial as a place where they could feel secure, comfortable etc. The price they paid for that was to conform to the teacher's expectation of good behaviour in the classroom, and that freedom was lost if, in the opinion of the teacher, the price had not been paid.

In addition to allowing pupils the choice of where to sit, teacher D indicated that the mini-society of her classroom was more permissive than the whole school rules should require. For example she said:

> I think that sometimes I let things go in class more than other teachers would, particularly in terms of bad language. Other colleagues, some take (uniform) very seriously and will stop every child, speak to them in the corridor or in their classroom, whereas I know that if it's not my year group, or if they are not in my class, I will not tell them to take their rings off, for example ... I pretend not to notice.

Teachers at school C, probably like most teachers in the English schooling system, felt that they had a right to exercise their judgment in setting the conditions for work in their own classrooms. Teacher B said:

> I always tell them (the pupils) that they have to put up with the way teachers are. I think individual teachers always have their own foibles and things they

> don't like ... I've got quite a catalogue of things that pupils have to get used to in my classroom.

Teacher D's justification for her classroom arrangements, and in turning a blind eye to some things prohibited by school rules, was mentioned earlier in this chapter. She believed that through these more tolerant arrangements she had "fewer discipline problems" in the classroom.

Whether the reverse of this coin was true (that teacher D's permissive attitudes created more disciplinary problems for those teachers who did uphold the school rules) was not clear from the evidence gathered. However, the examples given earlier show that all teachers interviewed at school C had their own priorities as to which of the school rules they should uphold vigorously, and which they felt free to interpret generously or to ignore. Teacher autonomy is an important issue for practitioners, and these judgments are part of the practical application of this autonomy. But these teacher judgments all hold significant implications for the role of pupils in their classes - whether they were given limited responsibilities such as choosing where to sit, or whether they had very little choice: whether the whole school policies on respect and dignity for pupils was supported by teachers or not; and so on.

Rutter et al (1979) found that there was a significant positive co-relation between the involvement of pupils in being given responsibilities in class or school, and their behaviourial and academic outcomes. This co-relation extended to even basic responsibilities, such as pupils being expected to bring and take their own learning materials to and from classes - books, folders, writing materials etc. "It was striking that the schools in which children were expected to take responsibility for their own things had better outcomes with respect to

attendance, behaviour and delinquency" (p132). Observations of lessons at school C indicated that most teachers expected pupils to take responsibility for bringing the correct materials with them into their lessons. In a basic way, therefore, pupils were encouraged to participate in the process of their schooling. However, it was not clear from the research at school C whether pupils were, on the whole, receiving a coherent message on responsibility. The whole school policies were drawn up to encourage this, but the implementation was confused by significant teacher autonomy in the classroom.

c) Respect For Pupils

The whole school policies described in the last chapter placed much emphasis on the respect which pupils should expect from teachers. This is important in shaping citizenship attitudes because it firstly models a society where the powerful and less powerful are entitled to equal dignity. Secondly it models a society where rights and feelings of all members are significant. Thirdly it models a society where there is a normal expectation of sensible conduct, co-operation and reason.

Research by Stevens (1982) showed that even children as young as eight were beginning to be aware of power and political relationships, even though they were not able to articulate their partial understanding in these terms. These awarenesses were acquired through what Cullingford (1990: 182) pointed out was communicated through personal styles and mannerisms of teachers, rather than in any particular formal structure or method. The way in which teachers treated pupils was bound to be very important in this. Teacher attitudes to pupils conveyed values of the hidden curriculum. Ross (1987) pointed out that political

values, with all their significance for education for citizenship, may have been conveyed not through the formal curriculum and syllabus but through:

> The school hidden curriculum, the way in which the school is organized, the way in which rules and codes of conduct are achieved, and the respect which teachers and schools show for children's rights or duties. (p22).

While the official policies of school C aimed at mutual respect between teachers and pupils, the traditional arrangement of English schooling had been that the teacher expected respect from the pupils, without necessarily having to reciprocate. Whilst this traditional approach had been challenged (Neill, 1968) it was nonetheless deeply ingrained. Although the official policies at school C aimed at modifying this traditional expectation, all of the teachers interviewed reflected to some extent the more traditional view of the status of the teacher.

Teacher A's comments on her relationship with her pupils was particularly interesting:

> I work incredibly hard on respecting pupils and I think that's the best thing I can do in teaching them citizenship, because what I'm really trying to say to them is, I've got a little bit of freedom, I can wear what I want, I can talk now and you can't because I've worked hard. This is actually what I believe, that I have worked hard and learnt my stuff. I've got a little bit of freedom here, I've got a car, and I wouldn't talk about this, but I think what I'm trying to say is, you can have this if you work hard. Anyone can do it if you try hard.

The teacher here seemed to feel that she had earned her position through hard work, and deserved respect for it. She evidently expected pupils to see her station in life as one to which they also could aspire, and that she represented an example, a model for them. As well as material success, there was a strong implication that she had moved up the ladder as far as status or respect was concerned as well. Nonetheless she still felt that she worked "incredibly

hard" on respecting pupils, feeling that this was an important way of conveying good citizenship attitudes.

Respect was something which was recognized by all teachers interviewed as being essential in their relationship with pupils. Certainly, a lack of respect from pupils was felt by all to make their job as teachers much more difficult, and this included a lack of respect for other people in the class as well as teachers of the class. A typical comment was that from teacher B who said:

> I do expect to be spoken to in a proper manner ... I think insolence is something I can't stand, being arrogant towards a teacher, being rude to a teacher, and not respecting other people in a class.

Teacher C went further in saying that respect from pupils was at the heart of the pupil-teacher relationship. According to him the most fundamental part of that relationship should be:

> Pupils obeying a simple instruction from a teacher. Because if you ask a child to do something, or instruct a child to do something, and they refuse, the total teacher-pupil relationship is broken down and I wonder where you go from that? I've often said to the deputies, if a child refuses to do what a teacher asks, really the walls should shake and the ceilings should be coming down. The whole thing has gone between the class and the teacher if a child refuses to do what you ask.

This comment was from the teacher who had the most tightly organized classroom. Nevertheless observation of this teacher showed him addressing pupils politely and dealing with their questions in a serious and respectful way, even though the relationships were clearly more formal and perhaps less friendly than in some of the other classes observed. Even teacher B who was more relaxed in his classroom management style still felt that respect for the teacher was one of the most important features of his classroom. When asked what

misbehaviour on the part of pupils warranted the most severe disciplinary response from the school he replied:

> I think it's got to be things to do with the teacher, like swearing at the teacher and so on. That actually shows a lack of respect and you must clamp down on that ... so I think you've got to be quite strict with the way children talk to the teacher.

However, despite these views which might indicate a traditional authoritarian approach to their teaching, all the teachers interviewed professed a liking for at least some of their pupils, a condition which would certainly help teachers to be genuine in their respect for pupils in their care. For example teacher A felt that pupils in the school were mainly trustworthy, and teacher B thought that they were generally well-behaved. Teacher C, who had been at the school for 27 years felt:

> The majority of them (pupils) are quite nice. It's spoilt by a few. Most of them are quite street-wise if you compare with a rural village college. Basically if I had loathed them I wouldn't still be here.

Teacher D was the most enthusiastic about the pupils saying that they were "great". "I really like the children here. They're very genuine ..." She went on to describe a relationship with pupils which does seem to accord with the spirit as well as the letter of the school policy on respect for pupils, showing a real concern for their views, opinions and interests:

> ... with my subject they're often drawing diagrams or copying tables, things like that. While they're doing that sort of thing, or they are doing practicals, and they're just waiting for something to happen, I'll go around and talk to them about all sorts of things. And the children seem to get on well with me too. I'm considered a bit of an eccentric because I have interest which a lot of female teachers wouldn't have, like I'm mad about football, I'm mad about Star Trek, and the children know that. I get knocks on the door with kids coming in and saying "have you got this card? Can I swap it with you?" It's really nice to have that sort of relationship and we chat about all sorts of things ...

Nonetheless, having found that all teachers interviewed seem to hold genuine respect for at least some of their pupils, there were warnings that this might not be true of all staff, or even that the staff interviewed may not have respect for all pupils. For example teacher B said:

> On the whole, when you get into the staffroom, well, you know, teachers like to whinge about what kid has done this and what kid has done that, rather than saying how good he is. A lot of the kids here are good and they really do a lot of good stuff. We tend to be too hard on them.

The lack of respect for some individuals which this comment implied indicated another inconsistency between school policies and classroom practice, and between individual teachers. However, the school official policies have tried to redirect teachers' attention away from concentrating on where behaviour falls short, to where behaviour exceeds expectations, through the introduction of the rewards procedures described in chapter four. It is important for citizenship education for pupils to know when their performance and behaviour has not been satisfactory, but it is also good for them to know that some other kinds of behaviour do bring rewards. The staff handbook insisted that even while correcting pupils' poor behaviour, teachers should still address individuals concerned with dignity and respect. One of the ways in which respect can be shown is by listening to the views of pupils seriously. Teachers interviewed seemed to do this, at times they felt were appropriate, but it is important to note in the context of inconsistency that teacher B indicated that these views were not necessarily shared by all teachers at school C. Teacher D also said, when asked whether pupils' views were listened to seriously, replied "not by all members of staff."

However in most of the classes observed teachers were treating pupils with respect. For example, the field notes of a visit made on 6 November 1995 indicated one class where the teacher was having difficulty in imposing her will in getting the class to settle down to the

work in hand. However, there was "no outright defiance - everyone eventually sat down, but most were not really taking much notice of the teacher". The teacher was using restrained language to encourage the class onto the planned work. The teacher kept her temper and was polite to the pupils, even though she could well have thought that the pupils were being very rude to her.

As within any human organization, however, tempers can fray (staff as well as pupils) and in these situations respect tends to be the first casualty. For example, one senior member of staff was observed shouting at a male pupil in the middle of a busy corridor, immediately outside the member of staff's room, where he could have taken him to be private:

> And you make all that row outside my room? It will make me very angry - I am very angry!

The contradiction of this scene to the guidelines laid down in the staff handbook on respect, and not reprimanding pupils in public, was stark.

The differing examples of "respect" indicated above do mean that the pupils' experience of this is quite mixed. In order to receive respect pupils have to adopt a variety of attitudes, from being submissive to being friendly to being assertive. This is linked with the teachers' perceptions of appropriate classroom organization and management discussed above. The implications for citizenship may be significant: is good citizenship being obedient or even obsequious, or is it being relaxed or demanding with the classroom leaders? The experience of pupils seemed to span all of these, and some pupils may be puzzled as to which mode of citizenship will be appropriate for citizenship in adult British society in the late twentieth century.

d) Responsibility and Experience of Citizenship

The centre for citizenship studies in education at Leicester University advocates an experiential approach to education for citizenship. The centre's broadsheet issued in 1993 on citizenship and values education suggestions some seven activities which may be helpful in developing a sense of values among pupils. All these suggestions require pupils to be actively engaged in grappling intellectually with real issues which may either be remote (world issues) or more often tend to be local and within the experience of pupils (current problems around school for example). The full list is shown in fig. 3 in the final chapter.

School councils are included in this list and school C has such an institution, created by the present head. This institution must certainly give at least some pupils experience of participative citizenship, although it is not valued by all pupils (see pupil comments in chapter six), all teachers interviewed mentioned the school council as a democratic structure which allowed pupils an opportunity to put their views, and which could influence the management of school C.

However, a contrary view is expressed by Entwistle (1971) who suggests that school councils, despite reflecting liberal democratic representative structures of our current national political arrangements, deny most pupils involvement, apart from voting, which Entwistle (1971) regards as a passive rather than active involvement. He argues that school councils encourage the idea that politics is only for an elite (p59). He also suggests that pupil involvement in clubs and societies and other voluntary bodies could, nonetheless, give more real practice in responsible participation to a much greater number of pupils. Others like Powell (1970) have

dismissed this suggestion as having little real value, and instead urge involvement of pupils in democratic procedures such as school C's school council.

There were other forms of participation for pupils mentioned by teachers. The code of behaviour has already been described, and it was referred to by three of the four teachers interviewed as an example of how pupils had been involved in drawing up the rules by which they themselves should live. However, this had been done during school year 1993/94, and was therefore too long ago for most pupils to feel that they had any responsibility for drawing up this document. Some teachers like teacher D felt it was time that the rules should be looked at again, and the pupils once again asked for their views. The general feeling amongst teachers was that the present code was too complicated to be effective, and ought to be reduced in length. Teacher B summarized the views of colleagues when he proposed a plan for reviewing the document:

> It might be an idea if you could narrow it down to say 3 or 5 main rules that could be agreed upon by staff and pupils. You could come up with proposals and the staff could talk about them. Maybe at a staff meeting it could be discussed. And then it could go back to school council where they could discuss it. Any changes then could be fed back into forms and any serious proposals can then go back to council and then maybe back to a staff meeting or SMT. You'd come up with 5, I think, and then perhaps the departments could flesh these out if they wanted to, or perhaps individual teachers could flesh them out.

Even those who wished to review the code thus wished to continue to include the pupils in the process, giving pupils the responsibility of helping draw up these basic school rules.

Other areas identified by teachers where pupils can experience some real responsibility included care of the environment (teacher A). The community challenge (sponsored by the Head) where pupils design and carry out a project in their local community offered some real decision-making responsibility to pupils. Teacher C explained that:

> It's a thing where they go out into the community and do projects with the community, and they set it up in tutorial periods. It might be putting on an afternoon tea for a group of old people, or something like that. This is done with year 9 pupils and there is a similar project repeated with year 11, where it is compulsory.

The 2-week work experience for older pupils gives them an opportunity to take responsibility for themselves in a new environment. Teacher C referred to his personal decision to trust pupils with school electronic equipment, for which he (teacher C) was officially responsible. In addition, during the autumn term of 1995 the local press carried reports of two activities for which pupils had taken responsibility. One was a petition organized by a year 9 pupil to ask the council to restrict traffic speeds near the school, following an accident (Cambridge Evening News, 14 November 1995). Another report showed year 9 pupils washing cars to raise money for a charity to help the blind (Cambridge Evening News, 20 November 1995).

There seemed to be some sympathy among most teachers interviewed for allowing pupils to take more responsibility. Teacher A hoped for more self-discipline among the pupils, and had introduced some more freedoms in her classroom as a first step. Teacher B was keen on the idea of pupils taking on some prefect-type duties such as patrolling the corridors, but was anxious that pupils might not be able to rise to this challenge:

> Having said that a lot of them would abuse it. 75% of them are going to abuse that. I don't know. At my old school - I don't think it would work here - we

had a prefect system where you got a bit more responsibility. That worked fine ... I think it can make a difference.

Teacher B also felt that in his subject, at least, pupils had an influence on the curriculum, although they might not be aware of this "responsibility". For example teacher B said he monitored the reaction of pupils to the syllabus he used, and then adjusted his teaching programme for the following year (as far as possible) to take account of pupils' apparent preferences: "the things they enjoy I will incorporate as much as I can".

The experience for pupils in the exercise of responsibility in practical citizenship activities is inconsistent. Even where a school-wide institution such as a school council has been established, only one or two from each form group will have real experience of this activity. The contact of other members of the group may be limited to voting for their representatives. There was, however, some evidence from the interviews with pupils that at least some form groups discussed the agenda for forthcoming council meetings, and asked form representatives to raise matters for them on the council. They might also have a report-back session from their form representatives, but these events did not seem to be held by all form groups before and after every meeting of the school council.

While the general school ethos seems to encourage staff to give pupils more responsibility, absence of a prefectoral (or similar) scheme meant that older pupils did not have a formal structure through which they could contribute directly to the management or administration of the school.

Summary

The official policies of school C are transmitted to pupils through a variable membrane formed by the members of the teaching staff. The traditional classroom autonomy allowed to teachers in the English school system grants teachers the freedom to interpret school rules to suit their personalities and their classroom. The experience of pupils of citizenship education is therefore made inconsistent. Despite most teachers being in broad sympathy with the official school policies their approach to such issues as maintaining order in the classroom, the conditions under which respect is given to pupils, and the responsibilities granted to pupils vary widely and may offer a confused picture of the citizenship attitudes valued by school C. This issue was further explored in the interviews with the pupils which are studied in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: THE PUPILS' EXPERIENCE

Introduction

This chapter will examine pupils' experience of education for citizenship at school C. Their views and attitudes may indicate whether the official policy and the educators' practices, described in previous chapters, are contributing to a desired outcome.

Themes emerged in response to questioning around the four areas of identity, behaviour, influence of the school, and personal empowerment. Comments and ideas from pupils were clustered around these themes. To these data were added relevant references from observations made of pupils in class and during break and lesson changeover periods. The following is a summary of information indicated by the data analysed.

Sense of Identity

A sense of identity and belonging was recognised as being an important aspect of the notion of citizenship in the report of the speaker's commission of citizenship (1991). Questions were asked of the Year 9 pupils, therefore, which aimed at discovering whether they had a sense of belonging, and if so, to what group or grouping.

Analysis of the data suggests that pupils tend to identify themselves most strongly with the smallest of groupings, e.g. family, form class or friendship group. When offered a choice of labels pupils chose ones which were most localised, e.g. English rather than British, or labels linking them with a region, town or district. For example, pupil B chose "East Anglian" from

a choice of East Anglian, English, British or European, even though "East Anglian" is probably the least used of these descriptions colloquially. Pupil I described herself as being from Cambridge, and chose "English" from suggested labels of English, British or European. To the extent that these pupils found it difficult to identify with anything other than small groups, it may be that Margaret Thatcher was speaking for these youngsters when she said, in 1989, there was no such thing as "society" (although it must be noted that Mrs Thatcher later modified her statement).

Given that Britain has been a member of the European Community for a generation, it was of particular interest to the researcher that none of the sample interviewed chose the label "European" to describe themselves, even if put in a hypothetical position of having to describe themselves to someone from a different continent.

Another hypothetical situation helped to reveal another aspect of self-image amongst young people. Pupils were placed in an imaginary holiday camp site, where they were members of the only English family present. The other families on the camp site were all English-speaking, but were from different countries: Germans, French, Irish and American. The pupils were asked who they would expect to befriend most readily. One pupil chose the Irish family (because "they are very like the English", and "part of Ireland is British"). But of those expressing an opinion all the rest chose Americans and none chose the Germans or French. This partly contradicts the findings of a 1994 ICM opinion survey. That survey carried out for professor James O'Connell of the University of Bradford found that "the great majority of the British say that they have more in common with the Irish than with Americans or continentals" (Partridge, 1995).

The reasons for this contradiction are unclear. Language was mentioned by two pupils as a reason, but that is clearly not an explanation in the context of a hypothetical situation. It may be that the expectations that young people would have "more in common with Americans" (as a typical respondent expressed it) is a result of the cultural colonization of the young through American television, popular music, films, fashion and even youth language. This may help explain a characteristic response that "the French and German are different" or a typical exchange, as follows:

Interviewer:	So who do you say were the most similar to you, Americans, French, Irish, Germans?
Pupil:	Americans.
Interviewer:	Why not the Irish?
Pupil:	Because they speak different from us.
Interviewer:	Do you think Americans are more similar to us than even the Irish?
Pupil:	Yes.
Interviewer:	Why?
Pupil:	I don't know - they just are.

It may be that the young in other parts of the world, where there is also a heavy American influence, would also feel more comfortable with American youngsters. It may in fact be that the Americans are the group to which the pupils interviewed would most like to be similar whether or not they are similar. No clear explanation emerged from the interviews.

A Sense of Responsibility

Rights and responsibilities have been seen as twin pillars of citizenship by many. For example T H Marshall's classic definition of citizenship in 1950 made it clear that all who were endowed with the status of citizen must have equality "with respect to the rights and duties" involved in that status. A clear sense of duty or responsibility, and a willingness to honour

the obligations of citizenship is therefore important to the health of society, as emphasised in the National Curriculum guidance on citizenship (1990).

The sense of responsibility which emerged from the Year 9 pupils interviewed appeared to be linked very tightly to the localised sense of belonging noted above. Like identity, responsibility tended to be very parochial, felt toward the small group in which each individual felt at home, or even more parochially, simply a sense of responsibility towards self. There were some pupils who displayed a wider sense of responsibility, for example, one pupil who said she helped people in general because "it felt good" - and "because I don't like to see people hurt or anything". More typical were those who said that they would help friends rather than anyone else. For example, pupil P said he would help his friends if they needed it: "If you care about your friends and what happens to them, then you help them." Another pupil, R, said that her friends kept arguing, but she felt a sense of responsibility to try to heal the division:

> There was a girl called Sonia in my class, and this girl Suzanna and her were fighting and Suzanna was going to mouth her and I told her not to and she just walked away. I wasn't on anybody's side. I like both of them. Sonia was crying and I thought it wasn't fair for her to get picked on, but I did like Suzanna. They's argued for ages and sometimes they make friends.

Apart from peace-making there seemed to be a sense of group loyalty. A typical statement which illustrates the corporate sense of responsibility was the statement by pupil D who said, "We don't tell on each other at all - that would be the wrong thing to do ... We find that it means that we don't betray someone's trust by telling on them." The groups with which pupils identified, and towards which this sense of responsibility was felt tended to be small, typically between 6 and 12 friends or family members. The largest friendship group mentioned was 30-

40, but more usually it was much smaller: 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12 were numbers more frequently mentioned. The responsibility to this group was a kind of corporate loyalty, which overruled the interests of a wider society, even the whole class or whole school.

Interestingly, this sense of responsibility did not seem to extend automatically to taking individual action to help members of the group. Despite having, typically, fairly small groups of friends, few of those interviewed claimed to have a close "best" friend. At least one (female) actually saw the concept of "best friends" as harmful to the interests of the group since it could challenge its cohesion: "I can't really say people are better than other people. If they are friends, then they are just one of my friends. They're not my best friend. That would just start arguments."

One pupil mentioned that he had a friend in whom he could confide (pupil L) although this friend was not a "best friend". Two pupils who agreed that they did have a "best friend" offered some interesting observations. Pupil S said that she argued continuously with her best friend, and found that this strengthened the relationship! Pupil O said that he and his best friend often lied to each other, but that this was acceptable because they were best friends.

Generally, though, pupils seemed to be keeping a distance between themselves and others, even members of their friendship group. This distance might help to explain why the sense of responsibility for the needs of the group did not extend to a sense of responsibility for individual "others", even if they were themselves group members. Typifying this reaction was the girl who was asked what she would do if one of her friends were being bullied. "I wouldn't get involved as such, but I would try to encourage him or her to talk to someone

about it and not just stand it. I'd stay with them and stick with them, but I wouldn't be abusive to the other people, I don't think, because that just gets you involved and you just get into more and more trouble."

A rather limited view of responsibility, therefore, emerged from interviews with pupils, suggesting that tomorrow's citizens will feel a loyalty more to small units rather than to a more vague but wider notion of "society". In some respects this appears to confirm continuing trends of "disconnection" identified by Wilkinson and Mulgan (1995: 107). Using a carefully constructed quantitative questionnaire Wilkinson and Mulgan found levels of "disconnection" from society more than 6 times higher amongst 18 to 24-year olds than amongst those aged 65 or over.

Behaviour

The idea of "good behaviour" in schools seems very similar to both pupil and teacher. In the last chapter some of the ideas of teachers on behaviour were described, and pupils often seemed to reflect not only the broad ideas, but the exact words of teachers. For example, when asked about his most important right one pupil answered, "To be able to do your work without other people stopping you". Another pupil said that the most important rule in the school was "keeping the class under control so you can learn". This compared with teacher B who, when asked about the most important rule in the school responded "I suppose the number one is that teachers teach and students learn".

The researcher was sufficiently impressed with the uniformity of these responses to write "parrot fashion?" in his marginal notes on interview transcripts at one point. This is where

one pupil seemed to be a little confused with rights and rules. When asked about the difference between behaviour out of class and in class she had picked out that "You're quieter in class. Don't shout and that". When asked about the rationale for this she replied "Because teachers can't get the right to learn, don't shout out in class". The response from the pupil suggested that she had heard the words "Don't shout" and "Don't shout out in class" many times during the 9 years she had already spent at various schools. But it may be illuminating to see that the pupil phrased the justification for "quiet" in terms of the difficulties presented for the teacher, not for the learner. This frequent expression of concern for the rights of the teacher suggests that pupils may genuinely feel that school is about the rights and needs of teachers, rather than pupils and this idea might be worth pursuing in further research. The centrality of the teacher for the average pupil's view of school is indicated repeatedly in pupil comments on many aspects of school life. This may be unsurprising given the pupil-teacher relationships at school C revealed in Chapter 5.

From the idea of not talking when the teacher is talking there was a danger that the idea of good behaviour becomes that of being quiet. Not "answering back" and "doing as you are told" all emerged as aspects of the pupils' declared concept of good behaviour. In response to an invitation to give an example of good behaviour one pupil (J) immediately responded that "When you are in class you don't talk to your friends, because you want to listen to the teacher. When you're not in class you can talk to them, you can do what you like." Many pupils seemed to believe that the school authorities consider swearing at a teacher to be the worst form of indiscipline, but the school's anti-bullying policy was also widely appreciated. A typical exchange was as follows with pupil T:

Interviewer: What kind of things get people into really serious, big trouble at this school? What's the worst thing?

Pupil: Either violence, bullying or annoying a teacher in some way. Now who was it? I think it was Sam B. I think it was the one who came to us because he had been bad at his other school. We've got him now, and one of his friends. He swore at a teacher and he got suspended internally or some punishment which was quite severe.

Interviewer: Is that quite a severe punishment, being suspended internally?

Pupil: Not internally I would say. It doesn't affect you that much. It stops you doing this, being in this. You still have to do the work from the lessons, but you can't sit next to friends.

Interviewer: Which do you think is the worst? You mention violence, bullying and being abusive or rude to a teacher. Which would you say is the worst?

Pupil: It would have to be bullying.

Interviewer: Worse than violence?

Pupil: Yes. With violence, I think, both people have a say in what is going on. If two people were fighting, for instance, they'd both know what they were doing. But with bullying, one person is being picked on. They don't have a say as to whether they want to be bullied or not.

Most pupils did put violence and bullying as the examples of poor behaviour which they felt should incur the most severe response from the school. A response which gives the flavour of many was from pupil Q:

Interviewer: What kind of things get people into really big trouble here?

Pupil: What here? I think it's bullying. Definitely. I'm really pleased with what's happening about this bullying (referring to the anti-bullying initiative) because I don't know if other schools do it, but this is brilliant. I think it's violence, really, and I think stealing.

Interviewer: Which do you think is the worst of those things: bullying, violence or stealing?

Pupil: I think bullying is, really, because stealing, I mean it's very wrong and it could become a habit, but you can put that right, really, you can make them give it back or something. Violence really comes with bullying, sometimes, I mean it could be verbal bullying or something.

Or again, with pupil O:

Interviewer: What kind of things get people into really serious trouble here? Really big trouble?

Pupil: Bullying. Racism. Swearing at teachers and if you're late.** Sometimes you get into big trouble because you've missed your lesson and you're not allowed to go to the toilet while you're in lesson because you missed the time.***

Interviewer: What do you think about these rules? Do you think any of these are more serious, in your view?

Pupil: Yes, especially racism, you can't have that.

Interviewer: Is racism more serious than bullying?

Pupil: They're both the same. Racism is actually bullying.

Whilst some pupils suggested that the most serious misbehaviour was something other than bullying or violence, there was often a particular reason for the suggestion. Two pupils suggested that running in the corridors was the most serious form of misbehaviour, but then one of these pupils added that he had been knocked over and hurt not long ago by a senior pupil running in the corridor. Another thought that smoking was the most serious, but after the interview the researcher was told that the pupil with this view had recently lost a relation who had died of cancer.

Why was bullying felt to be the worst kind of indiscipline? Because, according to those who had a view, of the hurt it does to the self-esteem of the victim. Pupil C, for example, was aware of the hurt that could be inflicted by the use of "mere words":

Interviewer: Do you feel that you do things that are wrong?

Pupil: Yes, it takes me a bit of time. I say things and then way, way, say in the night time I think 'Why did I say that, why did I do that?' and then

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** This confirms the statement in the prospectus which states that regular lateness "will be punished" (p 6). Pupil O, however, has not made the link between regularity and lateness - is this an indication of teacher inconsistency?

*** The school does not have an official policy of denying pupils access to toilets during lessons, although it is quite possible that individual teachers may have. Pupils simply have to get permission from their teacher, and then go to the office for the key, because toilets are kept locked during lesson times.

I am a very polite boy. I apologise the next day, go back the next day and say I'm sorry, and try to change what's wrong. Sometimes I just feel very bad about things, and it is hard to put them right.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something like that?

Pupil: Just saying things I shouldn't have to people.

Interviewer: Without giving me names, can you tell me about an incident where you actually did that?

Pupil: Sort of like saying things, that Tom has quite bad acne, saying things about his spots and he went all red and walked off. I saw him the next day and apologised.

Interviewer: How did Tom react when you apologised?

Pupil: He said he didn't mind, just felt a bit bad at the moment. He felt bad and that made me feel guilty. But he didn't actually seem that worried.

A clear pattern emerged that good behaviour was considered to be that which did not hurt others. This may have been because pupils did (not unnaturally) not wish to be hurt themselves, and it may have been that they were thinking more of rights rather than responsibilities when they discussed this. This may have been supported by the way in which a conditional or contingent element was often inserted in to the judgement of bad behaviour. For example, pupil D condemned fighting, but did not like the way that both pupils who had been fighting might be punished. "You should listen to both sides of the story, most of them'll say that each other started it. It depends on what it is about".

Pupil E also believed that teachers should try to get the whole story before imposing punishments:

Well, the thing is, some of the teachers don't see into it and they don't see all the points, they just sometimes take sides and are not fair. Say if someone is going through a bad patch family-wise or something, mostly they go to them first and take their side of the story and the other one's left with hardly anything at all. But some of the time, I'm not saying all the time it's like that, but some of the time they do the right thing, but other times they don't.

The contingent flavour of behaviour came through more clearly when pupils were confronted with a hypothetical situation of finding money in the street. Two were quite adamant that there was a right thing to do and that they would do it. But although most could say that there was a right and a wrong way to respond, many asserted that they would do the "wrong" thing, and keep the money. The more details that were added to the story the more the response would vary. If the money might have belonged to a friend, more would seek to return it. If the money belonged to someone they didn't like, more would keep it. The idea of an absolute right or wrong, non-negotiable whatever the circumstances, seemed to be either an unfamiliar one, or one which had been rejected quite consciously. This could be an example of the "moral relativism" criticised recently by the Director of the Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (Tate 1996).

In response to enquiries about helping other people, almost all pupils considered that they were, personally, very helpful, even to people who they might not like, or who might be ungrateful. Not many would go out of their way to be helpful to strangers, however. This may, perhaps, be accounted for partly by the police campaigns discouraging children from getting involved with "strangers". School C's feeder primary schools had apparently conducted "Say no, don't go" information campaigns warning pupils about possible danger from strangers, so the choice of the word "stranger" in the question may have triggered a negative response, not necessarily connected with the level of helpfulness on the part of the pupil.

The reasons for being helpful, however, were varied. Pupil L acted out of a sense of enlightened self-interest. In response to a question as to what made her a helpful person she responded:

> Just things you have to do isn't it? Because if you see people struggling you can't really leave them struggling, can you? With fingers crossed if I do it for them, they'll probably end up doing it for me one day.

Pupil F felt that he got something out of helping others too, and his response typified several others when he said, "Because it feels good". Pupil O said that after helping someone he was "quite happy".

Nearly all the pupils seemed to be thinking of people they knew when they thought about the question of helping others, but the phrasing of answers suggested that this went beyond the group of 6 to 12 close friends identified when they talked about their sense of belonging. For example, pupil P talked quite naturally about helping a science teacher, and said that when she did help "that was good". A little later in the interview, however, the same pupil lapsed naturally into talking of "friends" as the reason why she was prepared to help others: "If you care about your friends and care about what happens to them, then you help them". While it was not explicitly followed up in the interview, it may be a reasonable assumption that pupil P would not have included the science teacher in the group of 9 friends she talked of earlier in her interview.

Another pupil, O, gave examples of helping friends, but then also added an example (when pressed) of someone who was actually a stranger whom he had helped.

Interviewer: Are there other times when you have helped anyone? Well, anyone who isn't your friend?

Pupil: Not sure. Out of school I have. This old lady, she fell on the floor, so I helped her up. That was when I was in Year 7. We went out to the place where my mum does the shopping, and this lady slipped on the floor, and her bag had broke, so I helped her pick it up.

Pupils were reticent about why they might not actually do what they knew to be the right thing. Sometimes it was blamed on others. For example, pupil F said "There are a lot of people in my class that people are scared of, like they dominate them, and they make them do things they don't want to do sometimes".

Pupil B felt he knew what was the right way to behave but although "I don't get into much trouble, but I do wrong things a lot. I just like to do what all my friends do", thus putting the blame onto peer pressure. The same pupil admitted to misbehaviour out of school, even including criminal activities such as shop-lifting, but again put that down to peer pressure. When asked why, he replies, "I don't know. Because all the others, my friends, were doing it. I felt quite nervous, but they were going 'Go on, go on!' "

The influence of the group of friends can thus be a negative factor as well as a positive influence. Pupil B who had been involved in the criminal activities estimated that he had between 4 and 20 friends. The influence of the group can contribute to poor behaviour in school as well as out. Pupil M, for example, appeared to be ashamed how he and his friends had acted with one teacher throughout the previous year. He was not able to blame the teacher, although he was surprised that the teacher did not do more to control the class: "He should have brought in another teacher because he just couldn't keep the class under control". Nonetheless pupil M did feel that his behaviour had been wrong and in the long run he himself

would be the real victim. "When we have our exams in a couple of years it's going to be hard because we've missed a whole year". In these circumstances pupil M could only say, "I knew it was wrong, but I joined in anyway".

Some pupils claimed to have found ways to withstand peer pressure. Pupil M said he stopped some of his friends smoking "because I said 'You smell' ". However, he went on to say, "Well, they listened because everyone said they smelled" with a definite suggestion that he was not a lone voice standing up to the group. Perhaps pupil M had in fact been a member of a larger group that was dealing with a few deviant group members.

In terms of observable behaviour peer group approval was more highly rated by pupils than either doing the right thing, or teacher approval. As one indicator of this, the researcher noted that pupils he had interviewed rarely acknowledged him thereafter, either in passing in corridors, or in lessons he was observing. Only when pupils were on their own was there any reciprocation of a smile or a nod. Given the very significant role of adults (teachers anyway) in the lives of the pupils (see below) this was puzzling to the researcher. Explanations for this behaviour offered by members of staff usually mentioned peer group pressure, such as "They're too busy with their friends" or "They don't want to be seen to be friendly with adults". Other pupils suggested the response might be attributed to embarrassment, or because pupils were not used to relating to adults or staff in non-structured situations. This last was confirmed when the researcher tried talking to pupils out of structured situations. Pupils then offered comments such as "We are not used to teachers talking to us, really talking to us, not just in lessons, or saying 'hello', but really talking to us".

Pupils thus indicated that there were generally-held views of correct or good behaviour. Examples of correct behaviour included accepting the authority of the teacher and helping others, or at least not hurting others. Concepts of right and wrong became more contingent when linked to property, rather than people. The influence of the peer-group was clearly very powerful for these year 9 pupils and could persuade some individuals to engage in behaviour which they freely acknowledge to be "bad" or "wrong".

Setting an Example

School is the closest manifestation of the state for most children. It is an organised community whose members are not linked by birth or interest. It is an institution to which (effectively if not strictly legally) all children are compelled to belong. For most there is no real choice either of school or of form of education. It is thus, in its official and coercive aspect, and in its regulation of the lives of pupils, like a training institution for citizens before they take up their responsibilities in adult society.

If the school is seen as a kind of kindergarten for citizens it is a paradox that its sociological and political structure may not bear much resemblance to the liberal democratic structures about which pupils may be taught as a part of their PSE programme. Modelling behaviour expected from pupils is well-recognised as an effective teaching tool, and was so described in school C's Staff Handbook (p1, Section 3, for example).

Staff were encouraged to set a behaviourial example to pupils, but what example did the whole school give pupils of political structures, public procedures and personal status?

Pupils were asked about what rules seemed to be the most important to teachers. Some were able to point out that teachers were concerned with matters which pupils also believed were very serious, like fighting (pupil A). Several pupils thought that teachers seemed most concerned about preserving a learning environment. Pupil F was typical of this, who thought that teachers devoted most of their energies to "just helping people along. Helping people understand and making sure that they have the right to listen, even if others don't and try to spoil things".

Other matters which had been identified as serious problems for the school in the eyes of the pupils also came up as things with which teachers were concerned, even running in the corridors. Pupil E, for example, said that this problem was only solved when a teacher was around: "But any time a teacher appears it will smooth things out, and it calms down, but when the teacher is gone everyone starts pushing again". Bullying and swearing were also things which teachers don't like, according to pupils, and most expressed great satisfaction over the new anti-bullying campaign. One thought that perhaps it was being carried too far (pupil T) when he said that he agreed with bullying being a high priority for the teachers:

> I think it is (right) but there again you see, we have it every day, something about bullying. It's going a bit over the top. We've got the message and we should hear about other matters and not just bullying.

So, almost so far so good. The teachers did seem to be taking up issues which pupils also identified as problems which needed serious attention. However, more pupils thought teachers were concerned about aspects of life which were not vitally important and which in some ways they considered to be rather petty.

Perhaps not petty, in its broad intent of allowing pupils their right to learn, was the teacher's interest in keeping other pupils quiet. Three pupils mentioned this as being a major preoccupation for teachers, and these pupils were frequently resentful in their assessment of the teacher's preoccupation with this, typified by pupil B, who said of teachers: "They say 'Get on with your work' and 'No talking', and when we don't see what's wrong with talking they say 'No talking allowed'. I don't see what's wrong with it really, as long as we do our work." No pupil offered any greater rationale than talking stopping work as an explanation of the teachers' interest in quiet. No link appeared to have been made by pupils (or for pupils) between quiet and thinking, or talking disrupting concentration.

Observation of the school suggested that a completely silent classroom in school C was actually a very rare thing. The quietest lesson observed was probably (and paradoxically) a discussion lesson as part of PSE with Year 10. The pupils here were being encouraged to talk, but one at a time, and to listen to what others were saying. Mathematics, PSE, art, RE, English and history lessons were all observed, together with a library period, and in all of these there was generally a charitable and broad interpretation of "quiet", even when the teacher called for it. This presented a further paradox. Teachers generally expressed themselves in favour of an orderly (perhaps meaning quiet) classroom. Some pupils thought that teachers were very concerned with obtaining quiet. Yet really quiet lessons did *not* seem to be common.

Two pupils thought that the main concern of teachers was correct uniform, one thought it was punctuality, and one thought that most teachers were concerned about preventing pupils chewing gum.

Observation would suggest that teachers do care about uniform, since very few pupils were observed in obviously non-uniform clothing. However, the amount of chewing gum seen discarded onto, and then trodden into, carpeting, indicates that there is not the same priority given to this (or perhaps it is simply much more difficult for teachers to enforce a "no chewing" rule). Some pupils, in answer to other questions, felt the no-chewing rule was sensible and *should* be enforced. However, pupil I who mentioned the topic as one on which he felt teachers spent most of their energy, "I don't see nothing wrong with it, really. I do it myself."

Those who identified uniform as a major concern of teachers were not in sympathy with this, although neither rejected the concept of uniform. Pupil D was perhaps having some difficulty with uniform at the time of the interview, because she spoke with warmth on the subject. When asked what teachers seemed to be the most concerned about, she replied:

> School uniform, which items I should wear. I'm not supposed to be doing this, I'm not supposed to have this on because it's not strictly uniform. I think some of the staff go a bit over the top because my friends are always getting told off for what they're wearing underneath their shirts, and I mean we're not allowed to wear black t-shirts, anything else is acceptable. I do think they go a bit over the top sometimes. I know we have to look smart, but I don't understand the earring rule - we're not supposed to wear more than one stud in each ear. It's alright for me because I haven't got mine pierced. I think make-up is a good rule because it does go everywhere. Different teachers enforce different things, but uniform's the main one - and being on time. We're not allowed to be late, it's bad manners.

The inconsistency of staff might have been offering the pupils some unintentional citizenship guidance. In other words, conduct is situational - behaviour which is not tolerated in one situation may be permitted or even encouraged elsewhere in the same society. As pupil D said above "Different teachers enforce different things", and this was something which was

remarked on by seven of the pupils interviewed, even though it was not one of the items anticipated for exploration when the questions and prompts were being constructed. This may be one example of the "fresh aspect" of the question which Vulliamy (1990) predicted would be uncovered through an ethnographic methodology.

The inconsistency was usually noted in terms of the response of teachers to the breaches of rules. Football was apparently banned in some parts of the playground (because of the danger of breaking windows) but pupil L claimed that it was only (some of) the male teachers who enforced the rule:

> A lot of the men teachers do, but women teachers don't seem to. Miss B is out there today. She has watched us. Miss M was watching us yesterday, and the men normally tell us to stop and move onto the green somewhere. Women don't really mind. They tell us to be careful.

The differences in general approach to classroom standards also caused some comment. The strict teachers were preferred in general to the relaxed ones, but only if the relaxed approach resulted in poor discipline. Pupil M has already been mentioned in the previous section as wanting the teacher who couldn't keep tight control to bring in another teacher to sort out the problem with the class - that is, to discipline him and his friends. But when this did happen, as described by pupil E, this too may have caused problems. Pupil E told of an incident where a teacher was called in to restore order and was hasty, and perhaps over punished someone whom he thought was being insolent. The teacher was, nonetheless, summed up by pupil E as being "good because he's very strict, but he's bad because he goes too far". Comments from other pupils indicated that at least some felt that teachers ought to be even more strict. Pupil Q discussed a particular incident and concluded "I mean, the teachers in this school don't keep control strictly enough. He should get another detention". Pupil Q was asked about the

two types of teacher she described as being strict and as being kind. When asked which she preferred she responded: "I think the strict, because if you are strict then you learn things and you get to do your work, because if they're a bit soft on you, you can do anything."

The perceived tendency of some teachers to punish everyone without investigating carefully was a point raised above which indicated inconsistency. The views of pupil E on an example of unfair punishment of both parties has already been noted, and there was also the evidence offered by pupil O. When this pupil reported a squashed apple in a classroom to his head of year, he did not receive the response he had anticipated. "... I told her, I told the head of year, and she goes 'If you don't know who done it, then you'd better clean it up' " which probably was not meant to be a punishment, but seemed to have been construed as such by the pupil concerned.

One word used by several pupils as something they would like to experience at school was more "respect" from teachers. Pupil D, for example, said that, in his opinion, pupils did not always get respect from all teachers. Unfortunately pupils were not precise about what they meant by "respect". However the Year 8 pupils encountered at lunch by the researcher who found it difficult to converse naturally, claimed that they had never had a teacher try to converse with them before. These pupils may therefore have felt that teachers at school C did not consider them as individuals worthy of conversation or of being of genuine interest to them (Staff Handbook, section 3, pl). This may be partly what was meant by wanting more "respect".

Pupil D certainly felt very strongly that she was not taken seriously by teachers on at least one occasion:

> ... one thing I don't like is when teachers treat me like, I know they are in authority, they are in charge of us, but I don't like being treated like I don't exist, or that I don't have a brain because that really annoys me, by anybody, but particularly a teacher.

When asked if there was a particular incident where she had experienced this attitude, she added details of a problem with one teacher, saying:

> I've got into lots of trouble for, I thought, unjust reasons and I found that the higher members of staff that this was brought to wouldn't listen to what I had to say, well some of them would and some of them wouldn't, and I found that really demeaning, because like I'm here, I was the one involved as well. I mean, I'm not saying that they should listen to me and not to the teacher, but I felt that I was in the right and I would have liked to have been listened to.

Pupil P thought she was taken seriously by pupils, but not by teachers, whereas pupil N had a more even-handed view, believing that about half the teachers took him seriously. He felt he got on better with the teachers who did take him seriously. However, pupil Q thought that one of the good things about school C was the fact that teachers seemed to appreciate his sense of humour, which might be construed as a form of respect,

> I mean some schools, you get told off just for joking and you get into trouble. But here you can speak up as a joke, if you're allowed to. Have a joke, the teacher laughs and it's quite, it's not easy to get away free, can't dodge it, but you can, you know, be, you can actually be humorous with teachers or something, and you can because, if you like. If you've got to be all prim and proper, you're just sitting up straight and all that. You can't really be yourself at school, but you know, here you can be.

In addition to the awareness that there is going to be inconsistency pupils were also learning that despite all rules being rules, some can be ignored with impunity. The chewing rule has

already been mentioned as one which seemed to be widely ignored, and certainly pupils seemed to recognise that this was the case. Pupil I has already been mentioned saying that he couldn't see why teachers were worried about the rule, but pupil L said that whilst most pupils do not ignore rules, when it comes to chewing, "A lot of them do, loads of people do." Pupil S also supported this view saying that she did not think that most pupils agreed with the no chewing rule: "I think they don't like it because most people chew anyway."

Another rule that was challenged by pupils was the official school policy on jewellery and make-up. Observation of classes showed at least one pupil wearing more earrings than officially allowed in every class. Even in the assembly when the school head reminded pupils about the rule, several girl pupils near the front of the hall listened, but did not remove any of the excess jewellery which they were wearing. Pupil T also thought that pupils defy the "no eating outside the dining hall" rule:

> One thing that not many people take notice of is that we are only allowed to eat in the dining room ... I think we should be able to - if we clear up the mess - then we should be able to eat there (the tutor room). The dining hall tends to be completely over-crowded. There's lots of noise and there's not enough room to sit with friends, and being in the tutor room you can sit where you like, for as long as you like and turn up when you like ... we get people eating in our tutor room without the teachers being aware.

This was a clash between the needs of the institution and a desire for a more flexible, personalised lifestyle. The school obviously needed to arrange meal times to suit the needs of the lunch ladies, and the teachers on duty, as well as the cleaners and the need for teachers to have a clean, grease-free teaching environment in the afternoon. But from the pupils' point of view, they were being forced into a much less comfortable, less civilised arrangement for reasons whose validity they questioned. Was this conveying to pupils the idea that the rules

of society are arbitrary, but also ignorable? It is at least a possibility. But can the pupils influence the rules of their society in any way? The next section considers the political structure of school and the pupils' attitudes towards it.

Democracy and Empowerment

An essential ingredient for a democratic society must be a citizen's sense of contributing to and helping to shape the rules by which he or she has to live. The pupils interviewed from Year 9 may still have child-like views of the adult world, and so perhaps their views may not be good indicators of how they will function when they are adults. Nonetheless, the general view expressed by pupils was that authority should be respected, even if authority takes little, if any, account of the individual's views. Any sense of injustice expressed by pupils seemed to be of degree, not of principle. For example, even if the rules are incomprehensible to the pupil, or are perceived to be unfair, almost all pupils interviewed felt that they should still be obeyed, and pupils should be punished if they break any of the rules. Pupil E, who was quoted in the last section, did not challenge the right of the teacher to punish, he simply said that the teacher had been "too strict".

Without any kind of resentment, most pupils clearly felt that school C did not have a system in which they could participate in making the rules. When questioned, most pupils thought that the head, the governors, or even "the government" made the rules for the school. This was all the more interesting because school C had, comparatively recently, devoted considerable time and effort to involving all pupils in the exercise of drawing up a "Code of Behaviour". This exercise was undertaken two years ago, and, as indicated above, many pupils in the school would not have been party to it. It must have been disappointing to the school administration that Year 9 pupils

had either forgotten the exercise, or felt that their contributions had not helped to shape the "Code" which had resulted. Even those who remembered the exercise found it hard to see any connection between that and the rules that they now had to live by.

In contrast with this, the study found willingness amongst some pupils to participate in the form of representative democracy offered by school C. Several pupils mentioned, approvingly, the school council as a vehicle where their concerns could be raised. Three of the pupils interviewed were, or had been, representatives of their form tutor group on the school council. Pupils still seemed, however, to be reluctant to feel that they could influence school *rules* through the school council, even though they knew that the school council was an effective body - the provision of a Coca-Cola machine, greater security on the bike rack and plans for a picnic area were all mentioned as achievements of the council. Generally, pupils seemed to have little or no expectation of being able, themselves, to change the rules by which they live. The sense of impotence about influencing the school rules was illustrated by one pupil who described school council: "Well, we get a representative in our class and we tell them things and then he or she goes to the school council and tells people in there, and then they make suggestions and they come back and tell us what the results were. Everybody thinks it's boring."

There was no fundamental challenge offered to the status quo by pupils; most of those who said they would like to make a change chose something extremely superficial (uniform, chewing gum, cosmetics, jewellery, being allowed to eat lunches in classrooms, were all mentioned, for example) but did not think it worthwhile raising these ideas with staff or school council. Comments made by pupils were typified by the girl who said she would like to change the rule about wearing jewellery: "I don't like it that you can't wear jewellery ... some of my friends think it's unfair not

to wear jewellery or make-up. I haven't taken this to school council because I know they won't agree to let us wear jewellery." Another pupil had a suggestion for establishing a "tuck shop", but even though he had discussed it in a geography class, had not taken it up with school council or any member of the teaching staff.

If these pupils carried their views with them into their adult lives, it would be unlikely that there would be any participative evolution/revolution in English society. There would be more likely to be a greater willingness to let others get on with shaping societies' rules, and to hope that these rules were enforced strictly on everyone. They would prefer leaders who would at least appear to listen to them, without expecting too much from them by way of active support. The concept of a greater good of society may exist only within a circle of close friends, neighbours or relations. Giddens (1990, 1991) "politics of lifestyle" in what he called this period of "high modernity" may well be in prospect.

Summary

The pupils at school C had a very parochial identity, and a sense of loyalty only to small groups of friends. Their sense of responsibility tended to be to the small *group*, not to individuals, since "best friends" seem to be rare.

Ideas of behaviour still seemed unsophisticated. Doing as the teacher told them and obeying school rules seemed to be the stated concepts of good behaviour. Pupils thought that bullying was the worst form of bad behaviour, but thought that teachers in general felt more strongly about protecting their own status. While concepts of good behaviour became more conditional when

linked with property, the peer group influence could cause individuals to engage in activities which they themselves described as "bad behaviour".

Teachers set an example of authority and pupils prefered the teachers who were willing to exert that authority, even if they upheld rules which were considered to be unfair by the pupils. There was some anxiety over lack of respect from teachers and the teachers' priority was seen as keeping order. Pupils did not feel (or want?) any influence or power in setting school rules, despite being aware of structures like School Council.

The next chapter will attempt to put together the implications of these last three chapters to gain an overview of teaching and learning citizenship at school C.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TEACHING AND LEARNING CITIZENSHIP: AN OVERVIEW

According to Barr (1994) everything that a school or teacher does is conveying some message about citizenship to pupils. The school curriculum offers knowledge, skills and understanding and the school structure offers experience. The skills necessary to be a good citizen may be developed by either understanding the concepts offered by the curriculum, or by the experience of involvement in a structure or an active citizenship project, for example. In order to investigate what teaching and learning of citizenship was taking place at school C the preceding three chapters have examined how ideas and actions relevant to citizenship are dealt with at the three levels of official policy, teachers' practice and pupils' experience. In considering these three levels together, what picture emerges of the inner world of school C in terms of its teaching and learning of citizenship?

The three essential aspects of education for citizenship identified by Porter (1983) were status, volition and competence. These three aspects can be recognised, although phrased a little differently, in the 1990 broadsheet no 31 issued by the Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education which identified skills, knowledge and experience as being essential components of citizenship education. These descriptions were modified by the present researcher into relationships, knowledge and practice, when looking at what school C appears to be providing for its pupils. The terms may be more effective for discerning the overall reality, of which the three levels (official policy, practitioner, and pupil experience) are but three aspects. The aspects in some senses are three realities. For the people involved at each level the experience they described in their interviews are the reality as it appears to them. From different viewpoints the same facts take on

different significancies. What might be a reassuring stronghold for one level could be a claustrophobic prison for another.

Like most other aspects of education, effectiveness of education for citizenship can only be judged by its outcomes. This chapter, therefore, will attempt an overview of what teaching and learning and citizenship was actually taking place at school C from the point of view of the outcomes as represented by the pupils. In other words this chapter will focus on the teaching and learning actually experienced by the pupils.

Formal Curriculum

School C had given considerable attention to what knowledge should be conveyed to pupils to help them prepare for adult life. The citizenship information was conveyed mainly through PSE, RE and form meetings. Whereas with most departments extensive handbooks existed (although some were not yet complete) PSE, which probably made the largest contribution in direct knowledge of citizenship matters, did not have a fully compiled syllabus. The school intended that this syllabus should be prepared, but the document had been a victim of transferring overall responsibility for PSE coordination between senior members of staff. The programme for years 10 and 11 had been detailed in Chapter 5, and covered much of the information which the school felt that pupils ought to have considered before leaving school. Some aspects which did not appear to have been fully covered in the PSE, such as health education, (including drugs education) and economic and industrial education, may have been covered elsewhere. For example, the head of PSE indicated that drugs education was dealt with by form tutors, and that some health education, at least, is considered both in Biology and PE (Physical Education). Comparative religion was part of the RE

syllabus as well, and so introduced knowledge of the multi-faithed (and thus an aspect of the multi-cultural) society in England in the 1990's.

Some imaginative work between RE and History gave pupils an opportunity to consider not just the facts, but the moral/ethical dimensions of, for example, the Holocaust (Year 9) and Islamic civilization (Year 8). Other subjects might also have joined in these arrangements in time as, for example, Anne Frank's diary featured in the study of the Holocaust but is also used by the English department. The consideration of continuing persecution of Jews through anti-semitism today was another important aspect of the programme of study at school C. This helped ensure that the pupils' knowledge of the subject was not just book-based, but was linked to the contemporary world.

Other subjects had an awareness of citizenship-related knowledge as well. History, for example, had a number of aims which showed clear understanding on the part of that department of its role in developing knowledge of the structures of society: helping to develop an understanding of the present through an understanding of its historical origins, for example, or to understand "our cultural roots and the shared inheritance of a multi-cultural society", or an understanding that the values and attitudes of previous societies have sometimes been different from the present (p1 of the History department handbook).

The English department, in aiming to improve literacy was also helping equip pupils with a key competence for the exercise of citizenship. The English departmental handbook declared that English was not just "another subject" for pupils but is essentially "the means through which they can understand, control and enjoy their lives".

Although the Mathematics department handbook did not state a belief in a similar link between numeracy and citizenship skills, there can be no doubt that mathematical "literacy" is an important aspect of coping with life in the late twentieth century. At the very least, being able to manage one's financial affairs is a vital part of living as an independent citizen. Perhaps of more significance to society as a whole is the understanding of statistics. Sharing in decision-making for society now involves de-coding statistics which are used in support of political arguments. These statistics and other mathematically-based jargon are often poorly understood by members of society. As one illustration, Sewell (1981) found that most people did not understand what the inflation percentage widely quoted on the media actually means. Most, according to Sewell, expected prices in the shops to drop when a drop in the rate of inflation was reported, for example. There was however, something of a hint in the handbook that the Mathematics department was aware of wider applications of this subject. While one of the two aims of the department was to develop "an appreciation of Mathematics for its own sake", the second aim is to equip pupils with sufficient knowledge "to enable them to use mathematics with confidence beyond the classroom".

Whilst the school made provision for citizenship-related knowledge to be conveyed to pupils, the small amount of time that could be allocated to, for example, the Year 10 and 11 PSE programme (one period per week) limited the amount of information which could be discussed. If this is a typical time allocation, it may account for the findings of those like Stradling (1977) who found a very low level of political knowledge amongst school leavers. The 1995 British social attitudes survey (Jowell et al 1995) found that young people aged between 12 and 19 had a good superficial knowledge of politics. For example, 90% of those questioned knew that John Major was not the first male British Prime Minister. However, when questioning passed to more detailed matters,

such as the maximum length of time allowed between British General Elections, only 19% knew that it was not 4 years.

If school C is typical of other English comprehensive schools then there is a reasonable hope that school leavers will at least have been introduced to information which will be important for them fulfilling a citizenship role in future. However, in view of the time constraints it is unlikely that all will have absorbed sufficient information to enable them to function effectively as citizens. In the Years 10 and 11 PSE programme there are 8 topics, meaning that a maximum of 9 weeks is spent on each one. This in practice means 9 one hour lessons is the maximum that any Year 10 or 11 pupil will spend on topics which are as important as "careers" and "personal finance". It is perhaps too little time out of the 15,000 hours that Rutter et al (1979) estimate that children spend in school.

Skills and Attitudes

Charles Handy is quoted in Harber (1987: 7) as writing in the *Sunday Times* (February 1984) that he found more organisational similarities between schools and penal institutions than between schools and any democratic model. He listed, for example, the way that inmates in both schools and prisons have their work disrupted every 40 minutes or so, frequently change their supervisor, keep changing the location of their work throughout the day, have no place of their own within the institution, and are often forbidden to communicate or co-operate with each other. Is there thus a fundamental contradiction between the needs of an organised school and the needs of a democratic society? The need for an orderly transmission/acquisition of knowledge may mean that it is impossible to model a truely participative democratic ideal.

This presents a problem for the attitudes which pupils may gain while at school. It has been found by Rutter et al (1979: 187) in their review of research, as well as Cullingford (1990), that the models provided by teachers are extremely important for pupils. Teachers not only influence pupils by the way in which they treat them, but also by the way they interact with each other, and what they think about the school itself. Their attitudes towards time-keeping or willingness to spend time with individual pupils, are noticed by pupils who often reproduce these attitudes.

The models provided by teachers at school C were generally positive. Teachers were smart in appearance, and the classrooms usually looked as if teachers cared about their surroundings. However, as noted in Chapter 5, some attitudes projected by teachers may be negative. The status of teachers, almost forced on them by traditions and expectations, appeared to model an authoritarian rather than democratic social structure (see Handy, 1984, above). The attitudes of the Year 9 pupils interviewed in Chapter 6 seemed to be that they have generally learned to respect authority, right or wrong. Any changes the pupils would have liked to make in their conditions were usually superficial rather than fundamental - wearing different shoes or more ear-rings, for example - and did not demand qualitative changes in the unequal division of power between pupils and teachers, for example.

There seemed to be a very low expectation on the part of pupils that they could ever change anything in the school structure, whereas the school had, in fact, tried to involve all pupils in drawing up the basic Code of Behaviour. This had been done two years ago, however, and most of the Year 9 pupils interviewed did not volunteer it as an illustration of the way in which the school would take their views into account. It is, of course, possible that the Year 9 pupils, aged around 13, still had views of very young children. The work done by Keys and Fernandes (1993)

indicated that there were significant shifts in pupil attitudes between Year 7 (aged around 11) and Year 9 (aged around 13), including a big drop in the number of pupils considering that the school has sensible rules. This change between Year 7 and Year 9 indicates that it is possible similar or greater changes might occur between Year 9 and Year 11. Keys and Fernandes, for example, found 78.5% of Year 7 pupils agreed or agreed strongly that the rules of their school were sensible, compared to only 61.1% of Year 9 pupils. The Year 9 pupils at school C tended to identify some rules which they considered unfair, so they were probably in line with the findings of Keys and Fernandes in this respect.

The feeling of impotence which came across from the pupils interviewed in Chapter 6 is also of interest. It may be that after 8 or 9 years of school experience where "the authority of the teacher" should not be challenged, pupils have been socialised into acceptance to a point where it does not occur to them that this authority *could* be challenged. A professional anecdote re-emerged in the course of the project, with which many teachers will be familiar: "Having spent the first eleven years of schooling trying to teach children to be quiet, we spend the last two 'A' level years trying to get them to talk". The significant number of pupils in Year 9 who thought that keeping pupils quiet was the major preoccupation of teachers suggests that the anecdote may be grounded in some hard facts.

Another protracted constraint on pupils was the method of working in class. Keys and Fernandes (1993) found that pupils at both Year 7 and Year 9 stated an overwhelming preference for lessons where they could work with their friends. Over 90% of pupils in each year group expressed a strong preference for working in this mode. Well over a third of each year group expressed an active dislike for having to work on their own in class. Most of the classes observed at school C

were of the "individual work" kind, even though in some of these teachers did either tolerate or encourage considerable pupil interaction. It would seem, however, that most lessons required most pupils to work on their own, in a mode which they found less agreeable than other modes. The cumulative impact of year after year being made to work in less congenial organisational structures may also have contributed to a sense of resentment or to the sense of powerlessness which emerged from the Year 9 pupil interviews. With class sizes at around 30, and with considerable marking loads, teachers may have felt under pressure, and may have found it difficult to listen to pupils adequately. The observations made during the research project supported the contention of the Year 8 pupils informally interviewed (Chapter 6) that they had not had much practice of conversing with teachers. Teacher D also confirmed that pupils did not have much idea about talking to adults. The lack of time spent with individual pupils by members of staff may have conveyed to pupils that, whatever the school official policies said, pupil views were not actually valued. This may have been typical of other English comprehensive schools. Eggleston (1983: 133) said that there was "no doubt" that schools were desperately short of people who could help children come to terms with adult roles, when talking of pupil-adult interaction. The present researcher found it of interest, as well as being slightly touching, that several of the pupils he interviewed thanked him for listening to them. One claimed that no-one had ever been interested in hearing what she had to say before.

This general finding of a sense of powerlessness seemed to be confirmed by Cullingford (1992: 146) who says that children "... know that they can complain about what happens, but they recognise that complaints will make little or no difference".

Despite this pessimistic view of their own lack of power, some academic departments were working on developing skills which pupils would need if they wished to influence the world around them, as some of them undoubtedly will. English, for example, aimed at encouraging pupils "to explore and express and exchange ideas", as well as helping them develop "strategies of discrimination in their response to printed material and their own and others' writing". History aimed to develop appreciation of human achievements and aspirations, and also to develop skills amongst the pupils such as "questioning and analysis". The department also aimed to develop skills which pupils needed to interpret primary and secondary source materials. All these, together with the skills needed to distinguish between historical fact and the interpretation of these facts, were relevant to the exercise of active citizenship.

Overall the pupils were receiving mixed messages of skills and attitudes as far as citizenship is concerned, however. On the one hand they were told that they were significant individuals and needed to develop citizenship-related skills. On the other hand their experiences in many areas of the school, such as their contacts with teachers, may have been telling them that they were not very significant really, and that they must "do as they are told". The inconsistency of approach by teachers, noted in Chapter 5, must have added to the confusion of the messages reaching the pupils.

The comments of teachers in Chapter 5 may have been significant in revealing attitudes that were detected by pupils. For example teacher B's comments that probably 75% of pupils would abuse positions of responsibility if they were given any, had a particular serious potential for standards of behaviour in the light of Rutter et al's findings (1979: 187) that "children are very quick to pick up other people's expectations about both their academic competence and their behaviour". Research reviewed by Rutter and colleagues also showed that pupils tended to live up to, or down

to, expectations. Teacher B seemed to be speaking for a number of his colleagues when he made his comments. If even a few teachers had a low expectation of pupils' behaviour, then perhaps pupils will have "lived down" to this expectation.

In this context of teacher expectations and pupil behaviour Meighan's assertion (1995a) that "powerlessness corrupts as much as power corrupts", may be significant. As discussed above, pupils at school C generally perceived themselves as being powerless.

The school ethos has been shown to have a very great impact on pupils. The research reviewed by Rutter et al (1979) also showed that the style and quality of life in general (as assessed by a number of indicators) *cumulatively* had a much greater significance for the way pupils acted and behaved than did any particular individual indicator, including punishment and reward systems. Schools as social organisations appear to have considerable influence on pupils. "It appears that there was something about the way in which children were dealt with in general which influenced their behaviour, even when there was no direct supervision by staff" (p183).

At school C the ethos was fragmented by the inconsistencies of staff interpretation of the rules, as indicated in Chapters 5 and 6. The experience of any one particular pupil in any particular school could possibly be quite different from that of another pupil at the same school. The possibility of the experiences being different was increased where teachers were acting (as appeared to be the case at school C) as a loose confederation of quasi-autonomous classrooms or departments. Professional experience based on the observation of many schools suggests to the researcher that this may be true, to some extent, of most schools in England. The extent of inconsistency at school C may have been no greater than any other school. But the fact of the inconsistency did make it

a difficult and frustrating task for governors or administration to try to promote a single set of values across the whole school. If students were influenced by their teachers because they absorbed attitudes and values which teachers had, the prevailing circumstances at school C would have contributed to a diverse outcome in the attitudes which pupils will absorb. In considering political attitudes promoted by teachers, Harber (1987: 31) described Porter's (1983) three basic citizenship attitudes as being conservative, liberal or radical. The detailed descriptions of these three positions offered by Harber suggest that some teachers at school C would have fitted into his liberal mode, with some being in his conservative category, despite the generally conservative views expressed by the teachers interviewed. The radical viewpoint required (according to Harber) a theoretical analysis of society, focusing on the present and future needs of the class within society. However, the interviews with teachers did not reveal that any had analysed society to construct a theorectical world-view. The absence of analysis tended to make them fall back on a conservative view of society, with their values supportive of society's current arrangements. The views of the teachers interviewed did not fit neatly into any one of Harber's categories, even the views of individual teachers. All seemed to have internal contradictions and inconsistencies. The liberal aspects of the teachers' viewpoints paid particular attention not only to majority rule, but also to the rights of minorities, tolerance of the views of others, and equal opportunities. Some of the views of teachers interviewed in Chapter 5 clearly fitted into this mode (e.g. teachers' concern to prevent bullying), but some other views of these same teachers fitted more comfortably into the conservative mode as described by Harber (e.g. teacher C's views on obedience). To say that there was a conservative/liberal view of society emerging from the interviews with staff may not be too much of a nonsense. If these attitudes were being absorbed by pupils then it was not likely that these pupils would challenge society to create a fairer world or a more equitable division of power or wealth in the future.

Experience

An active form of learning of citizenship was advocated by Crick and Lister (1979). According to them if a participative ideal of citizenship is adopted, then it is crucial for pupils to have experience of involvement and participation, and to thus develop the skills and attitudes necessary for this approach to society. At school C there are indeed ways in which pupils are active participants in shaping their own society. There are several official structures which aim to encourage the articulation of pupil opinions, as stated in the official policies reviewed in Chapter 4. The pupils' School Council is an enduring feature of the school, although the deputy head has reported difficulties in getting representatives elected or appointed. "This year 1995/6 our Year 11 has been very reluctant to be involved. This is a particular pity since we usually look to Year 11 for leadership of the Council, and there were several good representatives from that cohort last year." It was not possible in the time available for the present project to attempt to find out why Year 11 pupils had opted out of School Council. Despite the considerable number of successes of the School Council (bike-shed security was mentioned spontaneously by several pupils who were interviewed in Chapter 6) there was a strong feeling amongst pupils, disappointingly, that it was "boring". This may be a problem for all representative forms of consultation, and a particular problem in societies where a year represents almost a generational span of time for the "citizens". The way schools are organised (staffing, timetabling, setting and budgeting for example) makes it almost impossible to bring about significant changes in less than 18 months. Often, if something is not included in the school budget by February of one year, it cannot be introduced in the following September, but might be addressed in September the following year. In a broader society where instant gratification of wishes is now presented as being available (in advertisements for example) in many areas, this delay must seem eternal for the pupils involved.

Similarly the school invested tremendous energy into consulting every pupil about the school's Code of Behaviour. However, 40% of the pupils at the school at the time of the study had not been involved because they had not yet joined the school when the exercise was conducted. The year 9 pupils who *were* involved claim they barely remember it either. If a week is a long time in politics, according to the late Harold Wilson, two years plus at school must be a life-time to 13-year-olds.

Just as School Council gave experience of representative democracy to some of the pupils, the involvement of Year 11 in the Motorola mock parliamentary debate gave some pupils insight into the working methods and procedures of the House of Commons. The videos made of these annual events clearly showed that a great deal of fun was had by the participants - but that for most participants their involvement was as a member of an audience, laughing, shouting, waving order papers, but not as speakers actively expressing a view. This may, indeed, have resembled the real House of Commons, as the notion of representative democracy is that a few are chosen (elected) to make decisions on behalf of the many. This procedure alone would not promote an active, engaged, experience of the application of citizenship skills.

It is clear that some pupils were given responsibility in serving on the School Council at school C, or in helping to draw up the anti-bullying code, or in helping to organise events in the community, such as the old folks' teas mentioned by teacher C. Year 9 pupils staffed the school reception desk on a rota basis, and generally seemed to enjoy the experience. Year 10 and Year 11 were given a slightly different uniform to emphasise seniority in the school, but the only responsibility which seemed to go with this was looking after a coffee bar which forms a common room for Year 11. This arrangement seemed to work well, but there was certainly a nervousness on the part of some

staff (see teachers B and C for example in Chapter 5) about giving too much additional responsibility to pupils.

Nonetheless, there were modest and even unrecognised ways in which pupils at school C did exercise responsibilities. Firstly, all pupils seemed to have to take responsibility for their own teaching materials - books, pens, etc. Secondly, as Cullingford (1992:3) points out, "Children are not mere passive recipients of school rules, but active participants in their success or failure". In this way pupils were themselves shaping some of the rules, through their own response to these rules. Every teacher interviewed in Chapter 5 mentioned discipline in one form or another as being a major current concern of staff at school C. This view was a response to the perceived behaviour of pupils, and this concern may well have resulted in new rules being introduced, or old ones being enforced more rigidly or uniformly.

Another experience which each pupil had was the reality of "contingent morality" at school C. The same actions on the part of pupils received different responses from different teachers, and some staff seemed to generally allow pupils to do things which were officially banned by the school rules (like wearing earrings and chewing gum). It may be felt that this disregard of rules was "pupil power in action" - pupils choosing which rules to obey and which rules to ignore. This, if it was the case, may in fact be undermining for the whole concept of community. If individuals insist on their own right to "opt out" of the general rules of society, and this attitude is based on successful experience of doing so at school, this may have profound implications for the future of society.

In addition to not having experience of the exercise of many responsibilities, pupils may also have been gaining the experience of being treated as untrustworthy, or as irresponsible. At least some

pupils at school C have experienced direct personal humiliation at the hands (or rather voice) of teachers, as did the boy being publicly reprimanded in a corridor by a senior member of staff, and those many pupils passing by would have had the experience of seeing that this humiliation is possible for pupils.

Summary

According to Langveld (1979) a reasonable goal of education in a democratic society would be to let everyone develop so that she or he can be a strong and independent person who can cooperate with fellow citizens and "who has the will to participate in social and political life. It is not enough to educate people to be law-abiding, and hard working citizens. What is needed are citizens who want to participate in the struggle for a more just and humane world".

It was doubtful whether the teaching and learning of citizenship at school C was producing the citizenship attitudes which would fulfil Langveld's dream. There are, of course, bound to be other influences which help to shape citizenship attitudes on the part of young people. The media is one major source, especially television, identified by Cullingford (1992), although he does recognise other major sources. Family and pre-school experiences may be very powerful in shaping expectations of others - trust, hostility, indifference, etc - and may also help to shape an individual's view of the world (Dodge 1985).

Nonetheless, the capability of secondary schools to modify or refine citizenship attitudes has been established by research (Rutter et al 1979). In the case of school C the lack of clarity in the school ethos made it difficult to generalise as to what overall citizenship attitudes were being projected. Based on the Year 9 interviews school C seemed to be producing young adults who resentfully respect authority but who would cheerfully ignore that same authority if they thought they could

get away with it. Individuals generally did not wish to participate in making rules because they felt there was no point. They cared about small groups of friends or family much more than about the needs of the wider community. Their care for each other, however, did not extend to putting themselves at risk for each other. Responsibility for decisions was resentfully left to others, partly because individuals did not have a broad world-view or even a narrow view of how society could be organised better. They expected authority to be variable and inconsistent in its demands and they did not expect to be asked for their own views.

While there were clearly differences perceived by pupils in the models of society presented by school and by the wider world (Cullingford 1992: 6) we may ask, with him "whether the outcomes that children reveal are really the norms that society wishes to pass on".

However, given the fact that school C had liberal central policies, but that these policies seemed to be interpreted in a variety of ways, including conservative ways, by the teachers, was there anything that school C, or any other English comprehensive, could have done to change the outcomes for the better? The final chapter will give some thought to this aspect of teaching and learning citizenship.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT

Reflections on Findings of the Project

The citizenship attitudes displayed by Year 9 pupils in the project, and summarised in the last part of the preceding chapter, were unexpected by the researcher. Taking seriously the advice offered by those like Vulliamy (1990) to approach the project as free as possible of pre-conceptions, the researcher had deliberately eschewed findings of any similar work before conducting the present study. In this way the researcher hoped to remain as free as possible of preconceptions (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). Intuitively the researcher expected (or hoped) to discover a re-emergence of youthful idealism, determined to correct the errors of their elders, and to reclaim the world for liberal values. Those campaigning, for example, against French nuclear testing in the South Pacific during the summer of 1995, or against racism in the East End of London in 1994, seemed to a casual observer of television news to be mainly young people. Other more localised campaigns, for example, in favour of footpaths in 1995, and against motorway developments also in 1995, did not seem to involve only mature people, and seemed to have a good representation of youngsters.

It was a matter of surprise, as well as disappointment for the researcher that serious national social issues, like racism, were mentioned rarely - three times only in the case of racism, and two of the pupils who mentioned racism themselves came from minority ethnic groups. Otherwise the issues which emerged as important to pupils in talking about the arrangements and structure of school seem to be very superficial. Even when asked about wider interests, pupils did not mention any significant global, philosophical or political concerns. The mentions of racism arose from reflection on arrangements within school C, and were not mentioned as a significant general concern, or indeed as any significant wider problem.

There are several possible reasons for this. Firstly, the pupils simply may have been too young to have a broad world view. Some theories of moral and conceptual development (eg Piaget, 1932) indicate that the age of 13 might be borderline for awareness of global or political issues. However, others (for example Ross 1987, or Cullingford 1992) have found that pupils younger than 13 can be aware of wider political issues, although they may not fully understand them.

The views expressed by pupils seem to fall short of level 2 of Kohlberg's (1981 and 1984) stages of moral judgement, still being at the pre-conventional level 1. Kohlberg defined his stage 2 as being where people have a concrete individualistic perspective, "aware that everybody has his own interest to pursue and these conflict, so that right is relative (in the concrete individualistic sense)". (Power et al, 1989: 8). In this sense the moral development of the pupils interviewed at school C seems to have been at a very immature stage.

This impression of the pupils interviewed at school C indicates a major question which could not be covered in the research project: would those interviewed change their views as they grow older? There are reasonable grounds to suppose that at least some of the pupils will modify their views as they advance to higher levels of Kohlberg's analysis of moral judgement. This progression may not, however, be automatic and may be advanced or retarded by the experiences of each pupil. Kohlberg's work seems to show that certain experiences - such as being part of a "just community", (1989: 265) - do have considerable influence on individuals.

The inconsistency of staff interpretation of the school rules, and staff attitudes towards pupils also may influence moral development of pupils. It also raises other questions: whether inconsistency is a persistent phenomenon at school C, or whether the present situation is different to what went before. Have the pupils who are now entering society as they leave school C experienced more or

less inconsistency from staff in the past? Is it possible that two pupils may have very different experiences at school C dependent on which teachers each of them might have encountered?

The two major problems illustrated by this project are probably (a) the inconsistency of the education for citizenship experienced at school by pupils, and (b) the possible contradiction between the model of society offered by school, and the theoretical liberal democratic society of western Europe.

On the first matter, the problem seems to be less the attitude of the central school authorities and administration, and more the interpretation of school policies by individual teachers in the classroom and playground. This in turn, may be a result of the traditional teacher autonomy in English schools, where teachers have been seen not only as educators, but have also been permitted considerable freedom as managers and disciplinarians within their own classrooms. The contribution of individual teachers to the overall ethos or tone of a school has been considered in Chapter 5, and has been well established by Rutter et al (1979). All teachers at school C expressed a broad sympathy with the aims and values of the school, but this did not mean that the school rules are interpreted by these teachers in a uniform way. Hall and Oldroyd (1990) defined management as the achievement of results through others. In this sense the "implementation" of policies must also carry with it a certain degree of inconsistency through individual interpretation. The "harder" aspects of management - the quantifiable - may be easier to direct by managers than the "softer" aspects (e.g. the quality of relationships etc. - Jones 1995). Yet it is the "softer" aspects which are amongst the most important in the development of citizenship attitudes amongst the young. The traditional structure of English schooling, referred to above, has valued teacher autonomy in the classroom, especially freedom for the teacher to make his or her own decisions on the "softer" less quantifiable aspects of teaching, such as classroom management, teaching style and so on. This

traditional autonomy makes it very difficult for headteachers to manage the education for citizenship programme in any school. Each classroom teacher will inevitably refer to his or her personal values in their traditional autonomy in establishing the classroom environment in which they feel comfortable. This may well have contributed to some of the best teaching at school C or in any English school, since there is probably a strong link between a teacher's beliefs, commitment etc and outcome in the success of teaching methods (Hoyle and John, 1995).

It would probably be impossible for school managers to overrule teacher autonomy. It is central to the idea of teaching as a profession, where needs and situations are not routine, and the practitioner's judgment is required for effective discharge of the task. There is, moreover, a variety of goals for any teacher - examination success, covering the syllabus, maintaining order, the school "mission" and many more - and this will make it difficult for central control to be very tight. Individual teachers will prioritise goals according to their own values (Hoyle and John, 1995). The present research project highlights still further the challenge for educational management in transmitting a clear and consistent message about attitudes and values through the medium of other (independent) human beings.

The second major problem mentioned, the contradiction between the power structure of the school and the power structure of society, is something which has been recognised by many. The response of some, e.g. Illich (1970) or Shute (1992) has been to challenge "schooling" itself, a solution which has found a practical response in the growth of home-education movement described by Meighan (1991). The number of children being educated at home was recently estimated as being in the region of 10,000, an increase from about 20 in 1977 (*Education Now*, no 9, p 8).

More usually the response has been, however, to consider ways in which the structures of schools could be made more sympathetic to the theoretic structure of society. Those urging a democratisation of schools include Chamberlain (1989), Bottery (1992 and 1994), and Davies (1994 and 1995). Some others have written about experiments in the democratisation of schools, for example Trafford (1993) and Ginnis and Trafford (1995), or even about practical experiments to democratise classrooms (Browne 1995). Nonetheless the contradiction is problematic, and may be a major part of the difficulties and inconsistencies in school C, where the central school policies attempt to transmit values which may not be reflected in the structure of the school.

Even if the official policies of the whole school are designed to promote an active, participative role for pupils (as at school C), there remains the problem of the classroom itself. This classroom organisation is still largely considered to be a part of the professional autonomy of the teacher in England, and at school C there was a large variety of models of society being offered by teachers. More emphasis could perhaps be put by the school on teaching methods and classroom arrangements which harmonise with the school's official policy. Edwards (1996) offers a short list of complementary classroom methods (Fig. 3) which could be commended through INSET sessions to all teachers at school C.

A further fundamental aspect of education for citizenship became a problem in the mind of the researcher while the project was under way. While it did not emerge as a particular problem from the research, the ethics of citizenship education continually intruded into the mind of the researcher. The issue was avoided in the design of the research project, and was therefore not directly explored. It was noted at the beginning of this dissertation that the definition of citizenship is highly contestable, and the working definition chosen for the purposes of this dissertation is already nearly half a century old (Marshall 1950). As stated in Chapter 2 citizenship and society

Extract from Planning for Values Education in the school curriculum (in *Values in Education and Education in Values* (Halstead and Taylor (eds))

- *circle time,* where young children are encouraged to share experiences and views in a supportive group discussion;
- *peer tutoring,* where pupils are encouraged and trained to share interests and exper tise in situations such as mediation to combat bullying, paired reading schemes, campaigns designed to help smokers give up the habit;
- *service learning,* where pupils study the needs in the community, take action and review and reflect upon the experience;
- *discussions,* where structured activities ranging from informal discourse following a particular agenda, to formal debate, form part of the learning process;
- *problem-solving exercises,* where participants seek possible solutions and are encouraged to develop objectivity and impartiality;
- *games,* where players conform to a set of defined rules;
- *simulations;* where participants adopt roles and work through a scenario;
- *role-plays and drama,* which, unlike simulations are open-ended and where real life is portrayed in a fictional way. Drama is not a national curriculum subject in its own right. Rather it may be seen as a method applicable to many areas of the curriculum.

Fig 3 *Edwards' list of teaching methods particularly appropriate to values education (1996:175)*

are interdependent concepts, and as society changes so will actual citizenship and vice-versa. The liberal democratic idealised conception of society from which the notion of citizenship of this dissertation has been drawn may already be an outdated concept. Reference has been made to the ideas of Anthony Giddens (1990 and 1991) who argued that society is undergoing a fundamental change in the late 20th century. What the real needs of citizens will be in the 21st century is an interesting area for speculation, but the official bodies which will decide what aspects of citizenship will be emphasised in education may or may not be more representative of society than the official bodies (who make these decisions for us) are at present. Some of the ethical questions which have directly or indirectly emerged in the course of this dissertation include *who* defines citizenship, *who* decides which aspects of citizenship education should be emphasised in schools, *how* teachers' personal viewpoints are adapted to this task, and *whether* citizenship education should be uniform on a regional, national or even European level. Some of these points have been the subject of recent debate with figures such as the Archbishop of Canterbury (Carey 1996) and the Chief Executive of SCAA (Tate 1996b) contributing their views. There are many more questions which form potential problems for the future of education for citizenship.

Limitations of the Project

Having referred above to some of the major problems which emerged in the course of this research project, other limitations of the project should also be acknowledged. The researcher can make no claim, for example, that the project (being qualitative) has precise applicability to any other particular school. The project was conducted in one fairly typical English comprehensive school, and the study describes the situation at that school. It is up to others, if they wish, to draw parallels or contrasts with any other situation with which they may wish to compare these findings.

The project was not designed to probe some questions which emerged in the research. The question of inconsistency figured in the preceding section and this needs to be explored more systematically, or in more detail, to follow through its effects. Other aspects which might have benefitted from a more premeditated examination include the question of "best friends". It had not been anticipated that so many of the pupils interviewed would deny that they had a best friend. Could the increase in the rate of failure of marriages be connected with the inability or unwillingness of youngsters to form close bonds with any one other particular contemporary during childhood? Or is this another symptom of the same growth of individualism?

Some other limitations were revealed as the research was being undertaken. The extent to which pupils might change their viewpoints in the future (mentioned above) was not included as an element of the project. This could have at least been sampled by asking retrospective questions about previous attitudes. The research by Keys and Fernandes (1993) suggests that views do change, although it is possible that the year 7 pupils questioned by Keys and Fernandes could retain their views through into year 9. The fact that Keys and Fernandes found significant differences between the attitudes of children at year 7 and year 9 does not prove anything more than the fact that two different groups of children hold different viewpoints at present. However, there is a strong suggestion in this finding that at least some younger children may modify their views significantly as they get older.

The extent to which other influences shape citizenship attitudes amongst 13-year-olds, such as the impact of media, especially television, was not included in the project. The question might have suggested how much or how little schools themselves influence young people. The supposition that family, community, media and other pressures, as well as schools, do have an impact on the attitudes of children is supported by the findings of Cullingford (1992) and the Commission on

Children and Violence (1995). The result of a recent Irish research project was announced at a conference in 1995. The project had apparently attempted to quantify the impact of various influences on secondary age pupils (Keane 1995). The research concluded that schools influence approximately 20% of children's attitudes. The researcher was unable to obtain a full copy of the research project, and this figure must therefore be treated with some caution, but it does indicate that there are other major influences on children which need to be taken into account or accommodated by schools attempting to develop positive citizenship attitudes amongst their pupils.

Some other questions which would have been interesting to explore include the whole question of bullying. Research on this question (Lane, 1989) indicates that the experience of bullying can have a life-long effect on victims (and probably on the bullies too). This aspect of relationships has obvious implications for citizenship attitudes. The observation of a senior teacher publicly humiliating a pupil at school C (see Chapter 6) raised the question of teachers as bullies. This is highlighted by Cullingford and Morrison (1995) but it was an aspect of pupil experience which had not been anticipated when the project was designed. Several pupils, nonetheless, gave examples of "strict" teachers whose punishments verged on the excessive, and this question of "teachers as bullies" may have been a fruitful area to pursue.

Possible Routes to Different Outcomes at School C

One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (HMI), David Trainor, said (1995) that he had a very personal sense of commitment to citizenship education. "I believe that the quality of my life - our life - in the next 30 years will depend upon whether, and in what way, we attempt to direct education for this kind of social development: for citizenship."

The Gulbenkian Report on children and violence (1995:62) warned that the consequences of schools failing to influence pupils towards positive citizenship attitudes have an immediate impact on the quality of life of all citizens: "It seems clear that schools, at best, can help to reduce the risk of children becoming violent; at worst they can re-enforce the development of aggression and can increase the child's experience of violence".

Relevant affective experiences which schools could offer to reduce these risks of violence might include the raising of self-esteem among pupils, which has been identified above as being significant in the formation of good citizenship attributes. It seems worthwhile asking, therefore, whether more positive citizenship outcomes could be achieved at school C, and if so how? There are a number of possibilities here, although there is no scientific certainty that, (when dealing with people) particular actions will always result in the intended outcomes. There are, however, some suggestions which might be worth considering.

The first is the question of inconsistencies. This of course, as has been discussed at length above, is probably inevitable when dealing with personal attitudes and the professional autonomy of teachers in England. There could however, be more work done with teachers in In-Service Training (INSET) time or on continuing professional development days, focusing on the values of the school and the status of pupils. There is evidence to suggest that individuals joining organisations, even in very senior positions, attempt to adopt values and standards of those organisations (Wrigley 1995). Further effort devoted to communicating the standards and values of school C to staff might help to reduce some of the inconsistencies of the way individual teachers interpret the rules of the school.

Greater exchange of ideas and mutual support within groups of teachers involved in PSE and education for citizenship is advocated by Edwards (1996). Hoyle and John (1995: 162) also suggest professional collaboration as a means of reducing the "variability" of the teacher. Such collaboration, however, will be counter-productive if it is imposed:

> The key task at the present time is to develop collaborative patterns of professionality in which the strengths of teachers in a particular school are mobilised without undermining individual autonomy to a point which has a deleterious effect on teacher motivation and hence effectiveness. These collaborative patterns can be structured, but such evidence that we have suggests that effective collaboration is more a matter of climate, particularly a climate which optimises collaboration while allowing for differences between teachers. Achieving the difficult feat of creating such a climate is a central task for the headteacher ... (p162).

An alternative strategy is suggested for attempting this task by Schein (1996). The climate, or culture of the organisation, could be modified by "change teams" built around individuals identified as being in genuine sympathy with the aims of the official policy of the organisation - people whom Schein describes as "culture carriers". Collaboration in this way could also lead to a more consistent message for pupils.

Another approach to lessening inconsistency might be the hierarchy of attitudes suggested by Susan Jones (1996). She uses a reductionist approach to work backwards from desired outcomes which would contribute to good citizenship attitudes (e.g. problem solving, decision-making and self-team development skills) through to the collaborative interpersonal attitudes required at the most fundamental level - such as respect, trust, honesty, humility etc. There are two intermediate stages (see Fig 4) which cannot be achieved until the prior stage is reached. A clear focusing in school C on the basic levels of developing foundation attitudes could then lead on to the development of higher level skills, collaborative interpersonal skills, then to functional skills and finally the ideal

Broad team skills

discussion/communication, problem solving,

decision making, self-team development

↑

Functional skills

initiating, consulting, informing, presenting, supporting, requesting/seeing

(information/advice), eliciting, critical questioning and feedback,

receiving critical questioning and feedback, evaluating, revising, linking,

suggesting, expressing, describing/clarifying, planning, inferring,

delegating, producing, promoting etc.

↑

Collaborative interpersonal skills

listening, openness, non-abrasiveness, non-judgemental tolerance,

genuineness, consistency, objective rationality, self reflection/

appraisal, etc.

↑

Collaborative interpersonal attitudes

respect, trust, honesty, humility, fairness, justice, empathy,

liking of people, etc.

Fig 4 *Genuine teamwork - the attitudes behind the skills behind the skills* (S Jones 1996).

skills for citizenship, the broad team skills. This is what Susan Jones calls "the attitudes behind the skills, behind the skills" (p38), and could lead to a different attitudinal outcome at school C.

Another possible route to different outcomes might be to build into the educational offering some sort of choice for pupils as far as teaching styles are concerned. Meighan (1995) has suggested a "catalogue curriculum", with a choice between democratic, authoritarian and autonomous curricular styles of teaching and learning. This has also been suggested by Glines (1995), who refers to more than 30 different learning styles which are known to exist amongst humans. The argument is that giving the pupils a chance to match their learning style to the teaching style will be more efficient, and moreover, give pupils an opportunity of practising citizenship skills by exercising choice. This could be possible at school C since there are usually 4 parallel classes in any one year group. Pupils could be offered a choice between the authoritarian (teacher dominated), democratic (teachers and pupils negotiating the arrangements) or the autonomous (where the learner is paramount, simply using the teacher as a resource). Such a choice would require pupils to exercise their judgement according to which style really is congenial for them in the different subject areas and at the different stages of education. This would engage pupils in a very direct way with their learning, as is encouraged by the school prospectus - see Chapter 4 - whilst giving each pupil practical experience of involvement in decision making about their education.

Each of the academic departments could give consideration to this approach in their subjects. Firstly, however, the departments could give more careful thought to the role which is played in education for citizenship in each of their subjects. There are works, for example, Conley (1991), or Edwards and Fogelman (1993), which examine the citizenship contribution of each academic subject. Some departments at school C (such as RE and History) have focused on the wider

contribution made by their subject, others (like Mathematics) have not begun to look at the question carefully. Maxwell (1991), for example, might be helpful to the mathematics department, since she gives several instances where mathematics conveys clear messages about society. She gives an example of mathematics textbooks using problems where pay increases for "bosses" are hugely more than those for the "workers". She also found British mathematics textbooks "obsessed" with money, mortgages, investment, interest and profit - which must convey to pupils a message about what mathematics is for and what life is about. Other more direct aspects of citizenship might include showing how, mathematically, it is possible for a political party in the United Kingdom to receive the support of around 35 percent of the electorate, and yet secure an unassailable majority of more than 50% of the seats in the House of Commons, and how the choice of electoral systems help to pre-determine the results of elections.

An additional question which might be considered by all academic departments is the impact they may have on the self-image of each pupil. An observation of a practitioner at school C that "mathematics has the greatest impact on undermining pupils' self-esteem" deserves further exploration. A careful and enlightened consideration by all departments of their contribution to citizenship skills and knowledge, practice and motivation, should take a large stride towards Edwards and Fogelman's (1993: 5) declaration: "Our ambition is that no teacher will want to claim that education for citizenship is someone else's responsibility".

Motivating staff to project the enthusiasm dreamed of by Edwards and Fogelman was considered by Burkimsher (1993) in his commentary on a conference which inaugurated the Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education at the University of Leicester in 1991. Questions he raised which

affect the ethos and hence the quality of education for citizenship for being of any particular school include:

> What is the school's vision? What is its purpose? Are its aims clear, understood and subscribed to by all? Is there clarity about values which underpin the aims? Do members of the school share in the discussion of these values? Do they measure their own practice against these values? Are the values understood and shared by the wider community which the school services? Given that we see our state as democratic, how democratic are our schools and in what ways can we make them more democratic? (p8)

Burkimsher also offered advice for management of schools to help encourage positive attitudes amongst staff, who will then contribute to an ethos which encourages positive citizenship attitudes:

> Facilitating participation in the management and development of the school, aiming for a corporate or collegial organisation rather than one which is strongly hierarchial; giving people responsibility; praise and recognition; being interested; smiling; management by walking about (but not prowling); supporting, working alongside staff, being actively involved and thereby establishing trust; appraisal to improve performance and job satisfaction; criticism given in a constructive way which staff can handle, never giving on the spot admonishment; planning so staff can have success, reviewing constantly; always finding something good to say after a classroom visit; encouraging initiative. (p10).

The climate of individual classes might also be transformed, perhaps as a part of offering Meighan's (1995) catalogue curriculum. Browne (1995) has described transforming a state school classroom from an authoritarian to a democratic model. Her classes however, were all working at advanced level, so there may be limited applicability to GCSE classes or below. The general principles, nonetheless, may be worth reviewing by school C.

Further Research

The guidelines of the Office For Standards in Education (OFSTED) for inspectors reporting on the quality of education in schools include, from April 1996, a requirement that they make a judgment

on the encouragement pupils receive "to relate positively to others, take responsibility, participate fully in the community and develop an understanding of citizenship" (Trainor 1995). In the short term, at least, there will therefore be continuing interest in education for citizenship, and some pay-off for those schools that make improvements in this field.

Several areas which might be further researched as a contribution to developing understanding education for citizenship and/or improving its efficiency have suggested themselves in the course of this study.

The first area has already been mentioned above. Will the year 9 pupils interviewed as a part of this project modify their views as they grow older? Will the views of those present 13-year-olds be very different when they become 15-year-olds, or when they become 17-year-olds? A longitudinal study would provide answers to these questions, if the same pupils could be followed up with a very similar series of prompts for interviews at two-yearly intervals. Research suggests that as children grow older views will alter (Kohlberg 1981, 1984, Piaget 1972) but this is inferential and will not be confirmed until or unless the pupils are revisited in the future.

A second area of possible investigation is the inconsistency of teacher interpretation of the policies of school C. On a macro level the national government itself faces a similar dilemma (see, for example, *The Times* leader of 6 December 1995) where laws are passed and ministerial circulars issued aiming at producing a certain response in schools, but that these are all interpreted in their implementation by local education authorities, schools, and of course, individual teachers. The result is that the eventual outcome may well be different from that intended by the framers of the central rules. There is some evidence, for example, that the introduction of a *minimum* yearly

teacher commitment of 1265 hours when Kenneth Baker was the Secretary of State for Education was very quickly interpreted as a *maximum* commitment, thereby having the very disappointing, and unintended, side effect of killing off much extra-curricular activity in schools, including sport (see Parliamentary debate on sport, 27 October 1995, particularly the contribution by Tom Pendry MP).

It is undoubtedly futile to think that inconsistency can ever be ironed out completely, but perhaps there are ways in which it can be lessened, or taken into account, or even exploited. Citizenship, in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society, might also have a multi-value aspect too. Perhaps this could be built in to the schools' education for citizenship programmes by ensuring that pupils are exposed to a number of different teachers whose views are known to differ from each other. This would risk trespassing into the explosive area of teachers' political views, and as such it may not be acceptable. But it might be that external visitors who have no such diffidence could contribute to a school course in citizenship. To a limited extent this may happen already in schools with representatives of political parties visiting schools, but perhaps this could be developed into a more substantial element.

The wider question of inconsistency could be further researched to establish whether there are more certain ways in which official policies of schools could be developed with a more confident expectation that the resultant school ethos would reflect the intention of these policies. Edwards (1996) suggests that greater consistency in value laden aspects of the school curriculum could be encouraged by "teams of teachers working together giving each other support and guidance" (p177), and this could be explored further.

Connected with this is a third area for possible further research. Could a set of criteria be developed by which the effectiveness of education for citizenship can be judged? It is acknowledged that this risks moving into a quantitative mode, with numerical assessments of what is in essence unquantifiable, and the even greater dangers of the development of "league tables" of school effectiveness in citizenship education! Despite these possible drawbacks educators may find it helpful to have some criteria by which they can judge the success of their policies. Some of these criteria may be longitudinal, and as such too delayed to provide effective feedback for the adjustment and refinement of policies. Examples might be the kind of careers chosen by ex-pupils, or the contributions that ex-pupils actually make to the community as adults. There may, however, be shorter term indicators which could be helpful, such as evidence of pupil involvement in voluntary (not simply school-sponsored) community activities - for example raising funds, petitioning councils, being on management committees of youth clubs, etc.

This is an area which may be helpful to all three levels of school experience which form the basis for Chapters 4, 5 and 6 in this dissertation. Policy-makers could have some idea as to whether their policies were indeed producing their intended outcomes; teachers could be reassured that they were doing what the school expected of them, and the pupils would have an assurance that they were receiving their entitlement. Fogelman (1991) developed a checklist of citizenship indicators for his research for the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship, and these indicators could provide a starting-point for further research.

Other areas for research have been mentioned earlier in this chapter, such as considering ways in which the contradiction between the structure of schools and the structure of society might be diminished, the ethics of citizenship education, or the extent to which schools could hope to

influence children in the light of other, perhaps more powerful influences, e.g. the media or the family.

The aims of education for citizenship are large; so large that some teachers might despair. But perhaps because of the scale, the aims can sometimes be stated very simply. The simple aims, and the despairing response, were illustrated recently in the correspondence columns of the *Times Educational Supplement*. An article by the former director of Leeds Polytechnic, Christopher Price, had advocated that moral education should "emerge naturally from every lesson and every activity in the school". Four letters appeared a fortnight later on November 3, all supporting Price's general thesis, yet pointing out particular problems and opportunities. One letter however summed up the frustration of promoting values for citizenship which may not be reflected by those who dominate society, and who to some extent therefore dictate the values of society. "It is difficult to see how RE, or indeed a concerted effort from all teachers, can begin to address the nation's sensibilities while a cost-accounting mentality reigns supreme. At a national level the shrine appears empty" (Byrne 1995).

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Appendix I

CITIZENSHIP PROJECT - PROMPTS FOR HEADS INTERVIEWS

how long head/deputy? aims and ambitions for the school then and now?

what kind of young adult do you want/think the school produces?

what policies and procedures at the school contribute to these outcomes?

how do you get the staff to carry out your policies, especially where these policies contain or imply value judgements?

what qualities are expected/required of pupils at this school?

describe a model school pupil

what do you expect pupils/teachers to contribute to the school?

how do you teach ethics/morality?

how are rules made at the school?

what is the worst sin in the eyes of the school authorities?

and in the eyes of the teachers? pupils?

what right seems to be the most important to the pupils - why?

what responsibilities seem most important to pupils?

what kind of a world/society is your ideal?

Appendix II

CITIZENSHIP PROJECT - PROMPTS FOR TEACHER INTERVIEWS

what is your role at the school, how long here?

what idea of good behaviour do the pupils seem to have?

any rules which should be introduced to help improve behaviour?

how are rules made in this school?

what do you understand by education for citizenship?

how does your subject contribute or your teaching contribute or your role contribute?

what do you think are the most important factors in shaping pupils citizenship attitudes?

which of the school rules seems to you to be most important? why?

what aspect of school seems to concern the staff most?

describe a model school pupil as far as you are concerned

what do you think of the pupils at this school in general?

what action/behaviour do you think warrants the most severe response by the school? why?

are pupils views taken seriously at the school?

what ius your vision of an ideal society?

what extra curricular activities are you involved in?

ATTN P JOHN

Appendix IIIa

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CHRISTOPHER GREENFIELD - questions and prompts for Y9 interviews

1. Sense of identity

Tell me about yourself - where you come from, groups of people you feel similar to, groups who have helped make you what you are

English/ British/ European or other label best describe you?

Looking at yourself, how would other people describe you? What groups would they think you would fit in with?

How do you think you are similar and how, in what ways, are you different?

Campsite - different nationalities - who most likely to befriend - why?

2 Social and anti social behaviour

Thinking of group X that you mentioned what sort of behaviour/actions help make the group better/stronger - examples

Weaken/make less satisfactory - examples (Y)

Why do you think Y occurred? Why do people do things that weaken/undermine the group?

How should people behave/act in group X for example or in an organisation like school for example

What to do e.g. find £10 - what might other people do? Is there a 'right' thing to do? Why? Is action only contingent?

Do you help other people? examples , why.

3 Influence of school

Appendix III b

Is this a good/bad school? What do you mean by good etc examples
Which school rule is or should be the most important as far as you are concerned? Would you make any other school rule if you had the chance to? What new school rule would make the school a better place for you - for your friends - for others?
Which school rule do the teachers seem to enforce the most? What do you think about that?

What experiences have helped you learn about right and wrong?
Anyone/thing else helped you?
How much of the time do you think that you act in the right way/ do the right thing? and the wrong? Why? --
In what ways has school/teachers helped you learn about right and wrong?
What kind of things get people into trouble/ serious trouble at school? Fair or unfair? What actions/ behaviour do you think should be most severely punished?

4 Empowerment and authority

Are you taken seriously by any of the groups you belong to/ are involved with? How, examples. How do you feel about this - or about not being taken seriously?
Have you helped make any of the rules by which you have to live? Could you help make or change any of the rules if you wanted to? How?

Do you have any rights in or out of school - what? Which right is most important for you? Which right would you most like to have?
Any responsibilities in or out of school? Does everyone undertake these responsibilities? Fear of punishment? Why?

Appendix III c

Do you think we should do as we are told? discuss.

Tape Two

Do you feel you belong in any group or unit of society? Do you have a sense of belonging?

I know, I like, I belong to this, like the school thing.

What makes you feel you belong to the school?

I mean, if I had the choice to come here or not, I think I would. If it wasn't the law I would, because I just generally like it.

Do you get a choice of secondary schools anyway?

Yeah.

Did your parents ask you which school you wanted to go to?

I knew a lot about this school because my mum went to this school, my brother went to this school, my brother's just started college this year, when I started Year 9, and I been here before, shows and things. It's like, it's different this school, I think.

What makes it different?

Well I think because there's less people. There's, like for instance, there's a student council which I'm involved in and that's really, some schools don't even have it, and it's a chance for me to voice my opinions, and everyone else's.

Tell me about the school council. What is it?

Well, it's a group of, there's one person gets voted in, from each tutor group from Year 7 to Year 10, and you're the rep, I'm the rep, and you go to the meeting every week, at lunchtime.

What day of the week is that?

Friday. Quarter to. And we talk about improvements we can make, things that are going wrong, and the good thing that I like about it is, I know I shouldn't but I do, it's a chance where you can answer back to teachers. Because there's Mr Hartley, there's Mr Brown, and there's occasionally, there's the finance manager, and you've got a chance. They can't tell you not to answer back or anything because you can just, it's like your own time.

What about if you were cheeky?

I wouldn't be cheeky. If I was cheeky it would be at the end. I wouldn't be cheeky.

Is there a way that you can answer back? Answering back to me sounds like you're being cheeky.

No, not cheeky. It's not answering back, it's like, if you they want you can just say, sorry sir, you're wrong.

So you're polite about it, but you can contradict them?

Yeah.

How do things get on the agenda for that? Do you all just turn up and then throw ideas out or is there -

There's a student, usually Year 10 or Year 9, chairing the meeting. And even the teachers have to put their hands up and things before they can answer questions.

If you went along to that meeting wanting to talk about school lunches, how could you make sure that the meeting talked about it?

There's nearly always a couple things on the agenda, so I'd have to wait until those things had been discussed and then I'd get a chance to say something, and if there wasn't time to discuss it, it would be put on next week's agenda.

How do things get on the agenda? You say there's some things on the agenda already?

They're from previous weeks and, things, that ... Some of them have been on there for ages and we trying to do something about them. I think the student council since when I joined, I mean, it's not me that's done it, since the Year 7 a couple of years ago it's got better because now we've got an account which -

Account?

Bank account. We've been given £500 by Citizen 2000 fund for new bike caging which student council paying for.

Bike caging, right?

We're trying to crack down on the bike theft and it's going to be cages so the bikes are going to be enclosed.

So is that it's main job, then, spending that money, or does it do something else?

It does a lot of things. We get quite involved in PTFA -

PTFA? That's the parent, teacher and friends, right.
What do you mean, get involved?

We come and join together **because they're there to do luxuries for the school, things, like textbooks and things.**

Like what?

Like, say, the new minibus. They don't think so, and I don't think so, but the government seems to think that's a luxury item, a minibus. And you have seen that yellow minibus outside? At the moment that's mainly, I mean my dad's treasurer of the PTFA.

And so that must have cost a lot of money. Any idea how much?

We haven't got enough money yet. That's the fundraising.

OK, that's fundraising. You said there were some things which had been on there for quite a long time, on the agenda for quite a long time. What kind of things?

They're like, something that we did, eating outside, someone suggested from class, that in the summer it would be nice to have picnic benches and things, and that's one thing that I just don't like about is, student council, I don't think things get done fast enough. Sit there and talking about for too long, acting.

Can you think of anything that has happened as a result of student council?

Yeah, I mean, the bike cages definitely. We put in a, we applied for that money, someone came along and we showed them that we were good. And there's been people not happy about toilets and things, the state of them. Just things like that. A way for students, like, to talk about things, share their points of view.

How do you let your class know what's going on at student council?

Someone writes the minutes and I get a copy of them minutes, and I talk to the class. I must admit that's my strong point. I'm good at talking.

When do you do that? At lunchtime, or -

Tutorial in the morning. I haven't done it for a while.

Shouldn't you do that every week?

I should.

Why haven't you done it for a while?

I mean, there's two things. It's mainly my fault, really. Always forgetting about it and then when I do ask the teacher forgets, sometimes the minutes don't get put out in time. And the next thing's ...

Tell me what you do when you talk to the class.

Usually you're reporting back on what they've asked for, telling them the things we've been able to come up with for them, and if they've got anything else to add, and if they've got anything to ask, put on the agenda, like if someone just puts up their hand, and says Chris I'm not happy about the rolls in the canteen, or maybe, you know, these desks or something, I just

say fine and make a note of it.

Do you ever not raise something that anyone asks?

Sometimes, there's just so many things.

Say if someone said I'm not happy with these desks, and then everyone in the class said, they're alright. Do you just ignore that or do you take -

The way that I think we usually tackle it is that we take, we go to our classrooms, and we say, listen, we do a vote. How many people are unhappy with this? We can't do it with the desks, because this is just our class that's got these. Because other ones got all, haven't come. But that, you know, that was an example, we take a vote.

So you might take a vote before you raise it. And if it lost you wouldn't raise, or would you still raise it.

You'd think about it. Think, if there is a way that we can do it. You know, we can all see really that people can't really be bothered.

Does student council help make the rules?

No, there's not a lot of rules in this school. We don't really, I think we all get on well.

You said there's not a lot of rules but there is a book called the code of conduct.

Code of behaviour, yeah. That's got rules in but, you know. They can all be put under one main group, category.

And that is?

You know, there's different things that are basically the same thing.

If there was anything in that code of behaviour which people in the class objected to, would you be allowed to talk about it in student council?

Yeah.

What would happen if student council said, for example, we all want to chew gum in the school.

You know, Mr Harvey would just put his hand up and say, you know, explain how it is. And we all know really that you couldn't really, but he'd just explain that it's dirty and that, and I think he'd have a stronger case than we had.

What would happen if the council still voted against Mr Harvey?

I think it would be up to the Principal which knows about, I think Mr Harvey reports back to

you know, just, I don't think it would be allowed at all because it's one of the rules. Fair enough if they say I'm not prepared to discuss this, and I think it's something that's quite reasonable to say no chewing gum.

You think that rule's fair?

Yeah, I think that we could come to some compromises about things like that, say we want to chew gum in class and they could say no, there's not chewing gum in school. And then it could be a compromise where as you can't chew gum in classes but you can at break and in lunchtime in the halls. Sometime's it's compromise.

Is there anything at the moment which you feel is generally thought to be unfair?

Yeah. I can't really, I don't agree with people getting away with things that they've done.

Like what?

Well, to give an example, the other day, there's this boy right, he's very, he's got a problem, unfortunately. It's not evident really, people ..., he flies off the handle and he goes absolutely crazy. He's very weak, and I think he is, you know, feeble, he's like, the other day, someone snapped his ruler accidentally, so he punches them a few times in the face, and she didn't come to school for a couple of days, and he got his wrist slapped. But the funny thing is that, well it's not funny, people laugh at him doing this, I laugh, because it's so pathetic the way he just flies, he goes at teachers, and the thing that really disgusts me, he got this other boy, this other boy got suspended for hitting actually the person that we're talking about, and he's had his wrist slapped and I don't think that's good...

What do you think should have happened?

If he doesn't get told he's not going to learn, is he? I think he should have got suspension because that's what the other boy got. He can't expect not to have the same consequences as other people ... still take pity on him. ... I mean teachers have to drag him out of classes with his fits and pick him up (lot of background noise) ... other school that I went to. Really annoys me.

So you've known this boy for a long time?

I don't like him.

Has he always been like this?

Yeah.

What do you think should happen with someone like him who's got a real problem?

I think it's not something that can't, you see it, he's not strong, as I say, he's well spoken which I feel sorry for him people taking the mickey, but you know, you can just imagine him when he's older getting into, he'll get put into jail or something. I think they should at least,

punishments & reform behaviour. IV

I mean, he won't learn unless they tell him off. That's the way I learnt, you know, someone's got to put me in my place, otherwise I'll just keep doing it and think that it's alright. It's not.

What about other pupils? Is there anything other pupils can do?

Because you know if another pupil says it, don't really listen as much because it's not an adult.

What about the things that set him off?

It's very pathetic really. It's things like if he does his homework wrong, and everyone's done their homework wrong, never mind, we'll do it again. Lawrence, for an instance, list night ... For instance, he did that particular occasion, everyone laughed, and he got in a, he started
(End of side one)
don't think they've got a lot of control, I mean they go, come and sit here Lawrence, sit in the corner. So he sits there, kicks the bin into the teacher's leg, and oh, you shouldn't do that.

Do you think punishment does any good, though? For someone like that?

I'm not into punishment really. I just, I think if he doesn't told then he won't. I mean if he knows it's wrong but he just doesn't care. I mean all of us lose our tempers but -

Afterwards, does he apologise, does he see that he's done something wrong?

If he's made to apologise, if the teacher says come on Lawrence I want to see you apologise, he'll go, sorry, and walk off. And then he doesn't think any more of it. And he gets on people's nerves because he's so, he's not particularly brainy, he's quite good at science. His dad does science in hospital, but, you know, he's always smarmy, he sucks up to people. My dad's had enough of him because he done a video class my dad does, photography, video, and he's always sucking up to people.

What can the rules do about someone like that? What's your point that you would want to change the rules to make?

I don't know, because there's not many people like that, not that I know. I mean there's more than one, but I don't see that one person, you won't have to change the rules for the whole school.

Were you saying, though, that you wanted the punishment to be applied always, if someone gets cross and lashes out, the same punishment should always follow?

The thing that I think is, if they want to, they should, you know, like maybe suspension or just sitting down and talking to him, being quite firm, but if that doesn't work they shouldn't do the same thing again, they should try and find another approach. Think about more. I mean the teachers in this school don't keep control of it. another detention.
shall keep. He shall get

Is that a fair statement, just think about what we said?

I mean, I'm sure, you know, are they really like, I don't know, are you ~~trying~~ studying to be a teacher?

I switched the tape off to turn and in of the I was and when my back in.

(Pause)
Really, I mean, they don't do as much as they should.

What do you think they ought to do to keep control?

It's not good handing out detentions at the end of the day because you've been very noisy in this lesson. **But if, mostly I think if someone's mucking about in a lesson it's because it's boring.** They should try and make it less boring. Take science, Mr Baddeley(?) I have a lot of respect as a teacher. He teaches you everything you need to know and you come out of his lesson learning several things. But you don't get bored because you're doing practicals and when you do writing work, it's a fag. I don't like the teachers that give you worksheets and say do the worksheets.

Don't tell me names, will you, because it will put me in a difficult position if you give me names. But there are some teachers who you feel do that?

I mean, you know, they're good teachers, and do you get trained in teaching skills ... how to control them?

What kind of things get people into really big trouble?

What here? I think it's bullying definitely. I'm really pleased with what's happening about this bullying. Because I don't know if other schools do it but this is brilliant. I think it's the violence really and I think stealing.

Which do you think is the worst out of those things - bullying, violence and stealing?

I think bullying is really because stealing, I mean, it's very wrong and it could become a habit but you can put that right really, you can make them give it back or something. Violence really comes with bullying sometimes, I mean it could be verbal bullying or something.

And what do you think should happen to people who bully?

I don't really think it's my place to say.

What would you like, as someone in the school, what would you like to see happen to people who bully?

I don't particularly stand there laughing when someone gets suspended, sit and chuckle to myself and say, ha ha he got suspended. I don't know really.

I'm not asking whether you would like to see these things happening, but what kind of things can the school do which you would think were fair things to do to counter the worst thing which you've identified which is bullying.

It makes me really angry to see people getting away, so I wouldn't like to see him get away with anything, because it's just no fair. They should realise that there's ... I haven't really been in that kind of trouble before so I'm not sure, I don't think it's my place to say, it would

just be me guessing.

Is there a big problem with bullying in the school?

Not that I know of. Really. I think at last teachers have got really fed up with it and they're thinking what we've been doing isn't really good enough, got to think of something else. I like, most of the teachers in the school I've got respect for. I mean, I respect teachers, I'm not lying or anything.

I think you've got a fairly good idea of right and wrong, from what you've been saying. Would you think that you've got a good idea of right and wrong?

Yeah. But you know, I still get into trouble, you know, but I'm not like violent or anything. It's like, maybe occasionally like being silly or something, talking too much or not doing my homework or something.

So those are wrong things?

OK I'm a hypocrite. I think everyone's hypocritical about something really. They did say something and at one stage or another they'll do it themselves.

Inconsistency.

Teachers at the moment are doing smoking, they're telling you all these things that can happen with smoking, and you walk into the staff room and they're all puffing away.

No one smokes in the staff room. They may smoke somewhere else but they don't smoke in the staff room.

...(chewing on their ... desperately trying to -

Is that wrong?

You know, I don't know really, it's just something that, you know, so noticeable, it's so obvious that if they smoke they should come out and say listen I smoke, because it's not really a put down to ... they should come and say I smoke and you can hear the kind of cough I've got, you can. If they've had experience it's all the better.

You said that you did some things that are wrong yourself. I want to find out why you think you did it and how you felt about it. So think of something you've done wrong, don't tell me what it was, but just think about something, and then see if you can explain to me why you did it. You knew it was wrong, and you still did it. Why do you think you did it?

Sometimes it's like a risk, like being silly, like if you go up the teacher and say alright mate, you really, you know that you could get told off, but then again you know they could laugh it off, and it's just like the chance that you take really. I must say that I'm a bit, I'm like that, at the autumn fair the other day I - Mr Harvey hasn't got a lot of - and he jokes about that so I put a lid on it, and he goes that makes me feel younger, so.

Did he think that was a joke?

He laughed it off, don't know really. My dad was there and I thought oops. But the way I see I can treat them like I treat any other adult when it's out of school time.

How did you feel after you'd done something like that, that thing with Brian Harvey? How do you feel about it now?

I laugh about that. If I've got into trouble I'll probably still laugh about it because he can't really do anything, like put me in detention. **But if it upset him at all I'd feel guilty.**

If someone said to you afterwards, well you went afterwards and he said he was pretty upset about people making fun of his lack of hair, how would you feel then?

You know, I didn't, I know that he jokes about it in front of the whole school and ... all the light shining off it and things like that, but you know I wouldn't do it if I thought that they were touchy about it. I wouldn't take, my grandmas' getting a bit, and I wouldn't say anything because she's quite touchy about it. **I mean I'd apologise if ...**

I think you said that you liked this school because other people had been to the school and so on, if I said is it a good school or a bad school, what would you say?

It's a good school.

And are there any other things that you would say made it a good school besides what you said about other people that you knew when you came here, your mother?

All the teachers and things and there's less people here. So it's more, I mean, some schools you get told off just for joking, and you can ... as a joke, if you're allowed to. Have a joke, the teacher laugh, and it's quite, it's not easy to get away free, can't dodge it, but you can, you know, be, you can actually be humorous with the teachers or something, and you can, because if you like, you've got to be prim and proper, you're sitting up straight and all that, you can't really be yourself at school, but you know, here you can be ...

Generally, about the rules, anything you want to say about the rules?

No, I think the code of behaviour works although I don't think anyone read it except the parents.

Who drew that code of behaviour up? Who makes the rules?

I'm not sure. It could be because, I'm confused, I know that teachers do, but I'm not sure about students because the students did help do the anti-bullying campaign, so I'm not sure, I've got to find out if they helped with the code of behaviour. And we done a lot of sheets in tutorial times, do you think it's right, you tick off boxes, I think that helped them. So it really is a mixture between pupils, teachers.

And who do you think should make the rules?

I think it always should be joint. I think they should come and say is that fair, which they do in the questionnaires that they give out, and you don't have to explain yourself, you just.

Where do you think you got your ideas of right and wrong? Fair and unfair? Where do you think those ideas come from?

I don't know.

Think about now.

It wasn't from primary school.

You didn't have your ideas then? Or did you already have your ideas?

In the last couple of years of primary school, I think I got them from parents really.

Anyone else you think was significant in your ideas of right and wrong? Or anything else?

I think I'm just one of them people.

When I say anything else I was thinking like television, religion, friends, you know.

I've no religion. I'm not, I wasn't christened, my parents are Christian.

So you think probably, probably it was parents?

Yeah.

What things get people into real big trouble here at school? What's the worst thing as far as the school is concerned?

I mean …

Which does the school seem to think is the most serious thing?

Probably bullying.

Do you feel that you're taken seriously when you express your views?

Yeah, you know, some teachers may forget about, I like, I mean the head's and deputy head's really good.

What made you get involved in school council?

I just want to help. More than that, I want to be involved with things like pantomimes and things, you don't have to be involved in pantomimes, it's done by the school, it's done by PTFA.

(End of tape)

... talk to adults like other people don't, scared to, I'm not scared to. Sorry, Mr Robbins or something. Chairman of the PTFA, alright Reg how are you kind of thing.

You call him Reg?

Mmm, yeah.

He doesn't mind?

No.

What do you call your dad?

Dad.

But does your dad take you seriously when you talk?

Yeah.

Are there any decisions at home that you think you've been, say yeah, that's because I want to do that, we've made a new rule or we've done something?

I mean, yeah, at the autumn fair, last year this was, I said I want really to get the student council more popular, because do something at the autumn fair last year, so I said how about doing a stall and the reaction was uuuhh, maybe next year. But you know, me and my friend Sal we done it, we just done it ourselves, and this year we done it again.

But was it for the school council?

It was for the school fund.

But you just did it yourself?

Yeah.

And I didn't get any support from the school council, but it was then, that's something that got me last year we all took shifts but I organised it. This year I've organised it, I've done a sign that says Student Council and you know, they haven't helped and I'm going to raise that next week. Thank you for your support.

And how do you think that will go down?

I don't know. You think at the last minute, should I, and then sometimes you think, no. I'll probably think ...

It might get a bit hostile, mightn't it, if you make fun of them like that?

Mmm.

There might be a better way of presenting it to them.
One question I was going to ask at the beginning which I forgot to ask when I was talking about how you describe yourself, are there any groups or sub-groups that you feel you belong to? Do you feel, if you're describing yourself to somebody else, you say, I am a member of, or.

There's a group of people that I go around with and all like, because I see myself as being a special student kind of thing because of my views of things, and there's a group which I hang around with out of school mainly and you know it consists of, there's like some Year 10s, some Year 9s. I'm better talking to people that are older than me, and that's been said before when I've been interviewed.

Do you have any friends in Year 9?

Yeah. I mean, the whole class I'm friends, but you know, but not some of the people that I go out with. I mean there is people, there are people, but not like really close friends.

You say you see yourself as a special student because of your views. Can you tell me a bit, explain to me a bit more what you mean by that?

I think I come out more with people, I think I'm quite humorous and I've got, you know, naturally good at entertaining, and lot of people like that, we're all, everyone's special at something, it's just that I see myself as being particularly good at that, and at the same time being quite good at everything else. Because I don't like blowing my own trumpet really, because I think.

The people you see out of school tend to people a little bit older than you?

Yeah, there's some of us because its me, Ruth and Laura, which are actually in my class for the Year 9s, and then the Year 10s are - I don't know are you interviewing Year 10s?

I shall be looking at some Year 10s, so.

Three boys ... and then there's Kate.

And what do you think draws you together as a group? What do you have in common.

We're all like involved in pantomime. Every single one of us was involved in pantomime, we all help in that. We all like being with each other. I mean there's no, there is a best friend, but he stopped going to this school because he moved to Pottisham, I still see him quite a lot, but they're like my special friends. And we do things like, Sam's got a disco, very lucky to have a disco, and I help him doing discos, going round to his house and paint things on his walls, out of films and that. Because he's got ...

Are you good at that?

No, but I enjoy doing it. Like student council, I went round … , she lives two doors away from me, we see quite a lot of each other, there's nothing special. You know, the group of friends, she's in it, someone I see quite a lot of time, and she's probably one of the nicest people in the group, she helped on this sign I done for student council, she done the lettering on this board and I painted it, but she came round and helped me.

Are any of that group of friends also involved in the school council?

Ruth was vice, but then she gave up, Sam was vice, and went as mainly as rep, the person who was the rep came back.

So it's mainly the theatre and the pantomime and all that sort of thing which draw you?

Yep.

Do you see them on Saturdays?

Yeah, sometimes. I work. We like music, we all like the Blues Brothers, we made a film ourselves, our film, using my dad's equipment, and it was just us lot that made the film and it was quite good, because we're all talented at things like that.

Did you show that film to anyone?

Yeah, I mean my parents, my dad helped me edit it because he's got a lot, he's got professional things.

He's a video …?

Yeah.

It's expensive that video editing stuff isn't it? Very lucky to have that?

Yeah. He, I mean my dad owns the shop, TV and video repair, and … shop.

End of session

Appendix V

E

Late November 1995

INTERVIEWEE: DEPUTY HEAD

Q: Right. OK. Well, Brian, you are the Deputy Head. So, tell me, how long have you been the Deputy Head?

A: Nearly 5 years now. I started the year of 1991.

Q: OK. Background?

A: My background – my own educational background as well? Strangely I went totally through the public school system although actually, from I suppose a lower middle class working class family background. My parents paid for me to go to the prep school from the age of 5 and as I discovered later, struggled to get me through there. I managed to get a scholarship to go to the local public school which was in Bishop Stortford and so in fact the first time I had state education myself was when I went to university in Exeter. That was in 1971. As regards teaching I spent a year after I'd finished university as a psychiatric social worker and from there did my PGC year and taught in Hertfordshire, actually in the same school. As probationer in that school I eventually ended up as a senior teacher there for 14 years, before I moved on to Coleridge. My area is primarily as an English teacher, although during the course of my career in my last school I became the head of Expressive Arts which meant that I took along responsibility for Drama and Music as well. During the course of that, having got some Drama skills, it seems that at Coleridge my main teaching has actually been Drama, largely because there was very little drama when I arrived and I felt it was a very important area to develop. We have now got to the stage where

we have GCSE drama groups – not taken by myself. We've now appointed a specialist for the past two years.

Q: When you arrived at C[redacted] what sort of aims and ambitions for the school do you think you had?

A: That's a difficult one, I suppose. I'll try and answer it in a roundabout way in that I'm not sure my ambitions were ever actually to be in management. Maybe it's like many of us. I was partly pushed that way. My previous principal wanted me to be a head and she flatteringly said "You're the sort of person I want to be a head" and very much pushed me to take on a deputy's role. I took a while to get it, simply because, one, I wasn't entirely sure that was what I wanted, and secondly, I was sure I wanted to remain in this part of the country, if only because my wife works in the EFL. This is obviously an area that she ... where there are limited places that you can go to. So, I wasn't burning with ambition and I'd have to say still, having been an acting principal for a term, I still have some questions as to whether that's exactly what I wanted to do. I suppose there was a sense in which, as I had been head of department, I liked to be able to control things, to have things a little more my way.

In some ways I answer the question by saying, what have I done? One of the first things I did on arrival at the school was to rearrange the timetable, partly as a response to the National Curriculum but also for various other reasons. I felt that the day was in equal halves and I didn't feel that was actually particularly helpful. I wanted to actually be able to increase the number of classes. I also wanted to ensure,

as I mentioned before, that drama had a role there which obviously the National Curriculum doesn't actually have an independent role(??). But I wanted to ensure that drama was there. **So I suppose in that way, rather surreptitiously, I manipulated the curriculum to the sort of curriculum that I wanted it to be.**

In terms of the school when I arrived Lesley had been there 3 years and I think the reputation of the school ... certainly when I went the night before my interview I went for a haircut and said I was going to [illegible] and was told, "You don't want to touch that with a bargepole". Its reputation was one of being very much the old secondary modern and I would have to say had not had a wonderful reputation. I believe before Lesley had arrived they had had a lot of difficulties in the management for some years. She'd begun to make a mark by that stage and I suppose what I felt was that I was supporting her in trying to turn the school around. We have had 3 years of a senior management team unchanged – two deputies, a principal and a business manager – and I think in that time certainly between us the reputation of the college educationally has turned. We still haven't quite made the breakthrough that we want to in terms of attracting pupils right across the ability range and I suppose in some ways I am saying the more middle class, but certainly the more able. We have some very able pupils but not enough of them. I suppose if there's an ambition there it's still to make that breakthrough which I don't think we've quite done yet. I'm not sure if that entirely answers your questions but I think that still remains as something I'd like to be part of.

Q: What kind of young adult do you feel that Coleridge actually produces at the moment?

A: I would hope that we would produce people who are reasonably assured, reasonably self–reliant and certainly I would hope ... One of the reasons why I rate drama so important is that we produce young people who have confidence in themselves and are able to express themselves. Looking at the social profile of the pupils we have, I'm very aware that for some of our pupils probably we are the only secure element in their background. Some of them come from very difficult family circumstances, quite poor backgrounds and certainly one of the more deprived areas of the city. Certainly for those pupils I think we give them security. What I would hope they have taken from us is some sort of confidence to be able to build themselves and not find themselves becoming a victim of the circumstances that they're in.

Q: Is there anything more that you feel the school could do to help produce that kind of ... to reassure you that the school is producing that kind of adult?

A: There's always more and I suppose part of me would come back to resourcing. I would have to say that at the moment one of my fears is that we are going to have to cut back on resourcing and therefore we're going to lose a lot of the individual attention that particularly the sort of pupils that I'm referring to here ... simply because of cutbacks. We will have to have people in classrooms rather than people in support and the sort of individual work which we specialised in. Equally at the other end of the ability range we are looking at helping very able pupils and a lot of

that will be done through individual action planning. Again, with cutbacks, are we going to be able to afford to put that sort of input in time into developing those individuals? So I would be concerned that what we are doing is at risk, let alone actually looking for further needs.

Q: To go back a bit from that, what do you think about the school at the moment actually contributes to those outcomes significantly? What is Coleridge doing that perhaps is different from other schools?

A: I think it's looking at individual needs. From what I've indicated there, a lot of financial support is ensuring that we can deal with individual needs, and treating each person as an individual. I think that's something that we actually do. We don't dismiss pupils easily. We have been criticised sometimes from within the college for not doing so ...

Q: You mean exclude?

A: I mean exclude, yes. We will always explore every possible avenue in order to try and keep children on tack and certainly that's true of some pupils who are often school refusers. We have particular work that we've done with a lot of those pupils, highly successfully, which has actually drawn them back into school and have begun to reintegrate them. Now that sort of work requires not only intense one-to-one with pupils but also work with families, work with the outside agencies. It's very very costly in time. We happen to have one person who works very closely with them and

obviously enjoys that sort of work. We have been very successful with it. What it's meant is that some other schools have also seen that and have actually tried to pass on some of their own refusers to us to deal with! But again, I would say it's not just those. I would hope that we're beginning also – and I would say that we're in the beginnings of this work – to work with the high ability pupils as well, to look at their individual special needs and to try and provide them with an academic richness which will challenge them.

Q: Now you mention that there has been criticism from within the college. Can I ask how you make sure that staff actually are upholding the policies of the school?

A: That's easier in some areas than others. Clearly, I don't know, you've got policy documents for certain departments and you've got the broad policy documents that we have. There is a certain amount of monitoring, and I use the word monitoring carefully because obviously that itself is a loaded word; but largely each of us has his department that we work with and we meet with regularly. Monitoring is done both from documentation point of view, but also then some visiting into the classrooms to look at the sort of work that's going on in classrooms. When it comes to the more individualised work that I was talking about it's more difficult for us to monitor it in that way. I think we're reliant really on the report–backs from those members of staff who were involved – and also from what you literally see in those young people, either around the school, ?? or whatever. So it's a slightly more nebulous area. To an extent that also works on trust in that there is trust with those more senior members of staff who are actually carrying out that work. It's also, I suppose, allowing that

they have an expertise in that area. I don't particularly ... in the area of the school refusers ... like ??. I talk to that person a lot about the sort of work that they do and I know that it's happening from there. So I would say that some of that is perhaps more informality of contact. But it's really ... it's keeping an ear to the ground, fingers on the pulse, those sorts of phrases and I think that we do do that – ??informal as well as formal?? (unclear).

Q: In the formal ways do *you* pay visits to classrooms?

A: Yes. Not as much as I would like – as I'm sure as you know as a Head – I mean, one of the things of walking the job is when I do do it I actually find it richly rewarding. I actually thoroughly enjoy it. It's not something that I've formally built in time each week, which I would like to. That's clearly because crises and things come up that you have to deal with and that is obviously going to be the first thing to go. But all of us have very much the attitude that we will do that and I suppose, yes, we do when there's a crisis. For example, last year we had a new teacher who was clearly fading and therefore a lot of input was put into looking at support for that person or looking at ways of ... in the end, I mean, the fact that the-?? has left, but it was looking at supportives, looking at alternative ways in actually supporting them individually and perhaps making a different career choice.

Q: Can I ask what you do about implementing policies where there are value judgements? Do you understand what I mean ...?

A: I think I'm pretty level-headed.

Q: ... Where teachers have to make value judgements.

A: Again, that's a difficult one and to an extent, I mean, the particular examples that we're talking about – sex education, the family and so on – again I'm ~~not to~~ the expertise. There's a particular member of staff who takes on that particular unit of work, both in the one in Year 10 and Year 11, who is very much in touch with current thinking. Now, we're talking in terms of the family unit as to whether that is an idea to promote and acknowledgement of the fact, as you have indicated, that the pupil many not be within that unit. A sensitivity really towards those pupils. Now probably the way that that's presented will change marginally from year to year depending very much on the same current thinking which you allow that teacher to be in touch with in terms of county policies and so on. If you're talking on monitoring that, again I would have to say that comes on trust. Again, I know very well the teacher that takes it ... I know her sort of ways of working and so therefore I would trust that she is actually delivering that in what is the most appropriate and most sensitive way. I think that comes back to my very first remarks about sensitivity. In terms of promoting the idea of the family per se as you've indicated, that's a value judgement and I don't think that's necessarily something I would say you would necessarily do. What we would do is be sensitive to what the needs of these particular pupils are. But with regard to family values, one of the reasons why we introduced a parenting course in Year 11 two years ago was that we were aware of the difficulties of the family situation with a lot of pupils that we had, and that

therefore an input towards that would be to actually introduce parenting for all children. Up until then there had been an option – childcare – which, as you might expect was taken mainly by girls. We felt that that was not really appropriate. As it happens, it's disappeared from the Curriculum anyway, or the National Curriculum that was. But what we try to do is to take some of the practical elements from that but also some of the theoretical elements of what values the family hold and put that into that area in terms of discussion. So I suppose that the values that we put would come through the discussion and work with the pupils. What we try not to do is to proselytise. As I said, I don't think that works and I think all of us would agree that doesn't work. What we would try to do would be for the pupils to explore those ... (end of side one)

Q: Right. Moving to the pupils. What qualities do you expect or require from the pupils?

A: Mmm... What we expect and what we get are two different things. I would suggest that one of the main things that we're looking for is respect for each other and obviously respect for staff but not because they're teachers and because they're frightening and all those sort of things, simply because you~~'re their~~ (they're) other people. I would hope that that sort of respect is the important thing.

The other thing I would hope, allied to that, is an increasing sense of responsibility, an understanding of rights but also an understanding that responsibilities go with rights – that the two are intertwined. One of the ways we try to do that is with our Code

of Behaviour which was largely done with pupils. I'm aware of your own discussions and find that pupils were perhaps unaware of how much of an input they had. But in fact they had a very very high input and what was shaped from there ... which we then went through on the committees ... it went through staff, it went through parents, it went through governors, it went through support staff and so on ... and went back to the pupils and the student council as well. But the idea of that was actually to make pupils aware that, yes, they had a say in how an organisation was run, but also any rights that they had did have responsibilities to go with them. So it's rights, responsibilities and respect basically, the 3 Rs really.

Q: Could you describe a model pupil ?..

A: No. I don't think that you could ever describe a model pupil because each one is completely different. In a way that goes back to individualism. I'm not trying to duck the question there. I do think it's very difficult to try and describe what ... I would just hope that we would have someone who would be respectful but also not someone who simply was a yes person, someone who did think about what they did, who was prepared to challenge, but challenge in the appropriate way. Someone who is stimulated by the environment and is a stimulating person to work with. Someone I could learn from, actually, in the end. We should continue to learn from our pupils. I'm sure we can.

Q: Do you think that most of your colleagues in the common-room would share your view of a model pupil or do you think that they would differ in any substantial way?

A: Broadly I think they probably would share that. Yes, we would get some widely differentiating views, perhaps on discipline, for example. That's a very obvious one. It's a hot potato. I think going back to my earlier remarks, when I was talking about some who perhaps would very willingly have pupils out when they transgressed... But that's it. I think that what they're all aiming for is exactly the same sort of pupil. I can think of one or two members of staff who may well take that line but who I think would probably have given a very similar answer, I mean, that what they're looking for is respect for each other, they're looking for someone who, yes, is prepared to challenge, but challenge in an intellectual way, and be stimulated by the learning that they're doing. So I think probably that *broad* principle would be shared. **We may go about it in different ways.**

Q: Now, I asked you about the qualities you expected from pupils. Is there anything else that you would expect them to contribute to the life of the school that we haven't covered yet?

A: Yes. If you come back to the model pupil, one of the things I didn't say and I now think of some examples, but it's the sort of pupil that's going to be involved in everything. It's the sort of person who's going to be part of the community and the wider community. There is a community college. We do have a responsibility to the wider community, yes, but also we're used by the wider community. I'm thinking such things as the productions that we've had which have been community productions. Very often it is the same pupils who are involved in those who are also involved in sporting commitments, who are also involved in orchestras, also involved

in all those things. Now that implies someone who has a certain academic level. It needn't be. I can equally think of one particular figure at the moment who came to us with potentially a dreadful reputation and is certainly not an academic child at all who is involved in all of those things – not actually in the orchestra, but in the barbershop group – is involved in all the shows – is always at any community thing at the weekend – runs discos for people in the college – who is fully involved. This is not someone who is a particularly able pupil, but interestingly spends the most of his time with a lot of the able pupils and is accepted by them for all ?? [illegible]

Q: You mentioned community productions ...?

A: Community show, yes. The past 3 years we've had a community show which ... it's come essentially from the PTFA (Parents, Teacher, Friend's Association), but has used members both of the school and of the community classes – not very many of them from the community classes, but a handful came from those – and the whole thing has been put together really by them rather than by the school staff. In fact the school staff have been fairly minimally involved, usually either in playing or acting rather than in an organisational role. So we do feel it's genuinely been a community affair.

Q: Now teacher obviously have their contractual responsibilities but is there anything else which you as deputy/potential head would expect teachers to contribute to the school?

A: 'Expect' is difficult. There are things I would like them to do. I am very aware of how hard teachers work. My expectations would have to go firstly to work in the

classroom and the fulfilling of that role within the classroom. One would clearly have to say that first of all. I would like to see them involved in some of the community ... the community productions for example, the things that happen at weekends, PTFA things. But I would have say it is different for a teacher coming back to the school at the weekend, to be involved in the jumble sale or whatever it happens to be, because it is their place of work. And I would have to say that one of the more important things is for the teacher to be refreshed and that they actually come back and do a good job in the classroom. So, my expectations would have to end there. I would hope that they would *want* to be actually involved in some of those other things as well.

Q: Now, we talked about the PSE programme which obviously is a major vehicle for morality and values. Are there any other vehicles for teaching, encouraging those aspects?

A: The glib answer, and the hopeful answer would be that it permeates everything because if there are certain values one would hope that those values are reflected in all areas of the curriculum, and the hidden curriculum. I would actually say that probably the hidden curriculum is almost the important thing. If I'm talking in terms of respect and responsibilities and rights, I'm also talking in terms of the way that we deal with the pupils in every way – along corridors, in all life. So I would hope that hidden curriculum would actually be a very important way of instilling those values – and what they perceive in teachers. I would hope that they would see teachers also as people who are not just teachers but have a life outside and commitments outside.

If I take an example of my living days, when I did receive some criticism regarding CND and I would wear a CND badge. And I felt it was actually quite important that, because it was a ?? ?? taking, that pupils should perceive me as committed. Now I did receive some criticism for that. It was said to be political. Personally I saw that as no different from, for example, a Christian who would wear a Christian symbol which equally I think is important that the pupils see. One of our regular assemblies is Christian centred. As you know our assemblies are not broadly Christian. You would lead Christian assembly not with prayers and so on, but from a Christian viewpoint and would make it clear, this is what I come from, this is what I feel, and present that as a view. Now I think that it is important that pupils see people who are committed. So, in the broadest sense I think it's ... If you like, it's that hidden curriculum. It's what goes on outside the curriculum. Clearly there are subjects where it's more ?? ?? drama and also English, but the drama particularly ... One of the first thing I said here was that it was about building confidence. But it's also about understanding of the people and if not becoming other people, it's trying to get inside other people, understanding why people do what they do. Possibly that's going to help them responde and be more tolerant to other people. So I think that's a key area. But clearly there only a few ?? – History particularly. There are ?? ?? The morality of science I think is increasingly an important area. And again, this comes back to trust, but certainly the science department as a whole I think take all those values. You see them as people who are committed, but who are committed ?? just the functional subject. They are committed to build that ... and the subject is involved in that. It may not be very clear, but I think there's a morality element coming through.

Q: Can I ask you in terms of the school's disciplinary code what is the worst sin? What gets the most severe response from the school?

A: On a regular basis I suppose, it's violence. There is an unwritten rule that violence will lead to a suspension. I say it's unwritten because I hope that ?? ?? more flexible. And I would hope that there's now no knee jerk action to anything. But it's our starting point that this could lead to suspension. Right, does it? And does it provoke the people concerned which is another unwritten rule that there is a point where it's two people even if one starts it. So I would guess that violence is probably the cardinal sin. That supposedly is the ultimate move on someone's rights. Disrespect. I guess – fortunately I have not had cause to deal with this ?? (unclear .....) As yet fortunately that hasn't occurred and I hope it will not. So in a sense you're probably asking ... that's probably a personal response as well, but I think it's actually one that is felt very strongly by the school.

Next down to that I suppose is theft. That's ... We have had one or two incidents of that. And a couple of incidents of theft from staff where the staff were fully involved in what did happen to those pupils. In fact in one instance it was felt that it was inappropriate for the child to return to the school, simply because that code had been breached. Rightly or wrongly, the fact that it was staff property, was probably seen as more important. I'm not sure where I stand with that one.

Q: Now you said the *school* would sympathise with that point of view. When you are talking about the school are you talking about the administration or are you talking about a general feeling in the staff common room?

A: I'm talking about the general feeling I would hope. Going back to this whole aspect, we're looking at our aims and objectives, we're looking at our ?? I would hope that it is something that's shared and I would hope that people either come to that ?? committed to, or that we worked with people in such a way that the cliche ?? ownership. But I would hope that we are the school that tries to share – and genuinely does try to share – and clearly we don't show the fact that we have to take ?? decisions. But I think there is genuine consultation on most issues and I would ... well I have seen it happen in a management group, where ?? strong feeling from members of staff or indeed from ?? or whatever would influence the way that we want ?? take a decision – even if we clearly have a decision in mind before hand. So I would hope that throughout there is genuine consultation and it is generally shared ??

Q: Looking at the school from the pupils' point of view, do you feel that the pupils ... What do you feel would be the pupil's worst sin in *their* eyes? What would be the worst sin for them?

A: I would guess they would probably say the same. I think there is an awareness that ?? suspended if ??. The other think of theft ... Certainly the last incident I had to deal with there was considerable outrage amongst the pupils that it had happened. Whetter it was because it had happened to a particular teacher or not, I'm not sure. I don't

think it was. It wasn't someone who's particularly liked or disliked at all. It was ... I felt that the particular pupils concerned, and we had to find out within a group, there was a very strong feeling that the person who'd done this had let them all down. So I ... possibly theft actually seems being even worse and certainly this was quite a major theft. I think it was over £100 which was taken from a purse and there was a real sense of outrage amongst those pupils. Clearly that said, of course, there were some pupils for whom I'm afraid that would not be a major sin.

Q: Right, looking again through the pupils' eyes, what do you think would be the most important right as far as they are concerned.

A: That's a very difficult one because I would have to say, like everywhere else, pupils are keen on rights and less keen on the responsibilities that go with them. One you hear a lot is their right not to be touched in any way by an adult actually. I don't know if that's something that's necessarily come from school. I think that's probably something that they come to an awareness of – with Children in Need and the Children's Act and the way it's manifest itself. So, I guess *that* more than anything is probably the one thing that the pupils really feel very strongly about.

Q: And what kind of responsibilities do you think would be the most important to them?

A: The glib answer would be probably none at all if they get away with it. (Laugh) That again ... Ooh, it's difficult. I think ... I mean, I've just given you an example in some ways of someone, with respect, and I think there was this sense of letting down the

group. That can also be negative of course because you can say, well you never actually grass on anyone. I'm not sure that that is too strong a feeling. I think that there is a sense whereby there is a responsibility to the group – whether that be as a class, as a tutor group or whatever. But there is a responsibility to that group and people who breach that and let that down are generally not well thought of. It's often connected with things like property as well and if there's a spate of vandalism of bikes there's quite an anger amongst pupils and to be honest it's quite easy to find out who's been responsible, simply because they actually see that as being ... It's attack on them. There's attack on their property.

Q: How are rules made at the school?

A: Again, I would suggest that the Code of Behaviour was a review of what rules there had been and the rules that came out of that, probably not dissimilar to the rules that had been made before, came through that consultation. So, in a sense, to say that they are all the pupils' rules is probably unfair in that clearly there was much guidance and discussion and so on.

Q: New problems appear, so how do you respond to that, if you feel that a new rule isn't necessary? "In future there will be no ..."

A: Probably the honest answer is that there will be an initial response from the senior management team, and depending on what it is – it might be a response to a crisis or something that you need to do immediately – I would hope that there will be some

sort of review of that and that review would take place at various levels. That would again go back to the student council: "We have a problem". OK we've got one at the moment. We're finding that litter is becoming a problem. That's gone to the student council: "What are you going to do about it? How are you going to deal with this? If you don't we may have to take these sorts of measures, but how are you essentially going to deal with this? What are you going to do?". So ... not always successful, I would say that, but certainly at that sort of level we would try and involve the pupils fairly early on. But I think that it's probably fair to say that initially it may well be a reaction from the senior management team – and may well be modified by staff response. Earlier, as I said, if we felt the need for something quickly we'd put something in place and include the staff, then it would be ~~??~~

Q: ??

A: In the end one would hope that it's gone through all the consultation phases – the governors have been involved, the parents have been involved, the students have been involved. But I would say probably, if I'm honest, it's more ad hoc to start with.

Q: OK. Last question. Your world view. You talked about wearing your CND badge. Do you have a communicable vision of the world as you would like to see it?

A: Well, I am a socialist but ... ~~??~~ why I'm thinking of resigning from the Labour party! But it's looking for a fairly equitable society. It's looking for everyone to have the opportunity to do their best. It is certainly not looking at everything for the few.

Equally, it is recognising that there are differentiations between people; there always will be and it's probably right that there should be. It's allowing people the possibility of making things for themselves, but also remaining compassionate. I suppose what I wanted is a compassionate society that supports people, but that doesn't take away their ability to do things for themselves.

Why do we say:

*)

Follow the crowd – fear of peer group.

M 120 – parking about in class.

(B)

why help.?

L 98 – reciprocal

F 57 – it feels good'

P 116 – care about my mate – bit

P 117 – that was good
= help a bike lie
= If you care about friends

O 149 – I was quite happy

Q 165 – I just want to help.

R 174 – It would fair for her to get picked on.
175 – I don't like to see people fighting.

S 192 a) I felt good. b) she's my friend

Appendix VII

(A) Comments about how to sell our wrappers. (see also Cards of wishes)

F 55 - Don't know - always problem.
F 55 Don't drink with strangers - have an happy family
L 76 - You can't really stop them.
F. 116 repair & stuff.
M. 127 - Sorting - we sent the swedish -
O. 148 - Didn't tell Hey about suspicions even though we had to take Micky
O 151 - Closing gm - why we just hate it. as it is
O 153 - lots of spirits against my word, I couldn't do nothing.
Q 160-161 - Problem boy - we can't do what students can
S 185 - Talk to friends out of boy silly.
T ~~198~~ 201 Ignore them - or tell a teacher
T 202 Can't think of a punishment

Appendix VIII

- importance + attitudes

for staff & pupils:

Clarity demonstrating A 18
C61
D71

PSE A 29/30 — D 75, D81

Concern with diet sensitivities A18 / B36

mutual respect D83

role model B31

Advocates consulting pupils' views

- B37, D48, C55, (C3)
actual - incorporating D54, iPSE, (D90), D71, D7
- A20 ~~A21~~ A22, B39, 45, B44, C53, C59
- supervising - C63 D55

yet contrasting response A22

anti bullying A20

anti bullying

anti smoking

Pupils: - parent + other attitudes A21, B31 D82

need promoting B44, D90, D85

independence A22, A24, A25, B32, C52, D83

Not responsible B35, A40

Too many D77 - D3 92.

Appendix IX

TAPE A
SIDE ONE

I just wondered first of all, when you hear the expression citizenship of education, what that means to you as a professional?

I think it means teaching children to be good citizens and have an understanding of the UK as a democracy and for them to play their part in upholding democracy. I also see it overladen by government expectations that have to be met about creating law abiding citizens, so it's a loaded expression for me.

What do you understand by good citizens?

Law abiding, solving problems through negotiation and discussion, rather than violence or writing or aggressive behaviour.

A lot of how you see citizenship would be classic political?

Yes.

Are there any individual responsibilities that you think a good citizen should have apart from upholding ...

Consideration for your immediate community and neighbourhood and . . . I think about it in terms of law abiding behaviour. I'm not quite sure what you mean by responsibility. I read this thing in the paper last night, for example, about women who have lots of children by different fathers and the Daily Telegraph terms scroungers on social security and the argument in the Telegraph was that this was not responsible citizenship behaviour, but I would argue more in terms of woman having a right to ... I can see that there's a citizenship dilemma there about whether you have children responsibly or whether you have them and expect them to be raised by the state, but I don't, my teaching doesn't get involved in that because the catchment area of this school is quite a deprived background and I don't want to offend anyone. I don't know if this is the kind of answer you want?

Absolutely. Very useful. Citizenship education means different things to different people. To some people it means nothing at all, so it's important to get different perspectives. I just want to, given that definition of your ideas on citizenship, whether you feel that RE has got a real input into citizenship education?

Definitely. On both strands. I'm teaching moral behaviour as well as respecting other people's lifestyles and I'm very keen on both. I'm always saying to the pupils you might not live like this but you have to respect that other people have ... support through the way they're living, and I'm also saying that there's right and wrong and trying to get them to look at that. I'm also doing it in terms of trying to make them question what they read in the press. I would tell them that the newspapers are out to make money and they therefore sensationalise certain issues over others, in order to make money, and they can exaggerate the extent of problems.

You mentioned ... right and wrong. Is that ... theme in the RE as you see RE.

... strong principles that they teach. They're believers. I tell them that the legal system in this country is based on the Ten Commandments. I don't ever say 'This is right, this is wrong', but I try and get them to question, I get them to grade behaviour. Is stealing from an ..., getting on a bus without paying for a ticket, how does that rate against stealing from a major department store against a trading market and trying to get them to think about degrees of right and wrong, because if you do it that way you're not saying stealing is wrong, which ... but trying to get them to analyse and that's one way of doing it.

Are there any religions where they would consider things to be right which we consider to be wrong. Can you highlight any of those areas?

There's cultural differences. Food is one way of looking at that, Jesus said that the unclean things came out of your heart, unclean things came out of your mouth came from your thoughts and your heart, not the food that you ate. Well, Jews will have very clear ideas that some foods are unclean, and then I will say that the reason for that is that they were living in a desert and pork goes off very quickly, and I usually say that sin food is very dodgy food anyway, get sick on that. I can't think of things that, mainstream cultural differences ...

That sounds like that would be quite a thought provoking session for children to actually look at things that others would consider to be right but that we for some reason consider to be wrong. Do you find it to be quite a stimulating session or do the children just clam up?

No, I think very quickly I try and get them beyond laughing. You see, Sikhs wear a turban and their first reaction when they see that on a video is to laugh and -

You don't have any Sikhs in the school at the moment?

No we don't. Not since I've been here either, and you need to get, to explain how, for example, complicated it is to get the turban on and then promote respect that way. Sikhs have a problem with wearing crash helmets which may be the kind of thing that you're thinking of, and they will think that it's right to wear a turban while the rest of culture, the main culture, it's the law. So we will look at things where religious people clash with British law.

Do you ever bring Sikhs in to talk about -

No I haven't. I don't actually know any Sikhs. I'm not aware of a Sikh community in Cambridge.

That's your subject and how you arrange your subject. Do you think there's anything about the style of teaching which you adopt, or the arrangement of the classroom, or so on, which has an impact on what the children learn in terms of their citizenship roles?

There's a temptation in a school like this to seat girls and boys next to each other. I'm not comfortable with that. I will always let them sit with who they want to sit and then if there are problems I'll move them, and I make that perfectly clear to them. You start off with the right to sit where you want and I then will alter that if you misbehave. I suppose that's some kind of message. I try to be more relaxed with children who come to me and say 'I haven't done my homework'. I'll always say, 'That's alright, bring it to me tomorrow'. I get really annoyed

if someone turns up and hasn't done it and I think they get the message very quickly to communicate with me in advance. So it's quite a strong message I'm trying to get across that I'm human, if you treat me right. I try, start off relaxed and get heavy when ...

Do you think that also works in reverse. Do you think they say that to you in some ways?

What do you mean?

'If you treat us right'

Definitely. It's very hard to hold them to that when it's November and you're very stressed and tired but. Again that can be very disappointing, if you can have a good relationship with a class and then how quickly that breakdown ...

Can you think of any examples where that's happened?

This term, 9JM, I had since year 7 and they were the class I would try out ideas on. I would think of them as very trustworthy. I would experiment ideas on them because they're so responsive and well behaved, and we had an incident where one child broke another child's ruler in three and caused a lot of upset and I felt the blind had been ripped from my eyes because this wonderful group had revealed tensions within it that I wasn't aware of, because I only see them once a week.

Was it more than just one child involved?

Yes, it was actually, I handed it over to the Head of Year because it became obvious that the boy whose ruler was broken was actually being tormented quite ruthlessly by a group in the form and that became quite a big issue and the parents came in ...

Do you think that was resolved satisfactorily in the end?

Yes I do. Parents saw the principal and I was saying what I want for this boy, I want someone to counsel him and spend time with him and I was concerned that he was actually quite paranoid and he was kind of hearing things that weren't being said and I was worried about his state of mind and that was picked up.

This would be the victim whose ruler was broken?

Yes. ... lashed out and hit the girl, but it wasn't one of those black and white situations. It had a history to it. I suppose that's what I'm trying to say to them about things aren't black and white. Bit more ...

Was it appropriate for you to use that as a teaching example?

No I didn't use it as a teaching example. I'm saying as a general thread, I'm saying to them you can't have a knee jerk reaction to this, you've got to find out, especially about teaching a religion like Islam where I think they have quite negative pictures because the Gulf War and so on. What I do is ignore the negative, I don't comment on it, but I go straight into, talk

about the calligraphy and stress the beauty of the arts, and so on, so that they don't have this black and white view of the world because I think it's extremely dangerous.

... the role of Islam in actually saving knowledge during the Dark Ages is something which we just ignore, don't we? If it hadn't been for Islam a lot of the classical learning would have been lost forever, wouldn't it?

Yeah, don't realise that.

I mustn't talk too much about my own views on this, basically I want to ask you things. Going back to the children, citizenship obviously is, as you said, function within a society, and societies are groups of people. What societies do you think are important to the children? Obviously they're a member of the school community, are there any other groups or sub-groups which you think are important, or more important, than being members of the school to them?

I think their families (end of side one) I'm always aware that I'm teaching 25 people plus . parents. I'm incredibly cautious about the things I say. And it works. I very rarely get letters saying, the only letters I ever get, I've got about two, saying you're not teaching enough Christianity. I didn't realise before I came to teaching quite how important parents are, because you think ... teenagers breaking loose, but I don't think it's true, I think they're still **incredibly wrapped up with their parents' attitudes.** And you can hear it sometimes, **you can hear the parents' voices coming through them.** I was trying to talk the other day, I can't remember how it came up ... we were talking about the children who had been killed over the summer, you know there was a series of murders, children, I was trying to say to them, yes, but statistically it's a miniature number. You think how many children there in this country, I think 1½ million, and **they won't have it at all.** Because they, what was coming out was that their parents had been saying it's very dangerous, it's a very sick society, and I would see my role as an educator as trying to make them to see beyond the newspapers, as I mentioned earlier. That's something that's happened this term that I remember.

You didn't get any feedback from parents on that?

No. Immediately. That child, you can't say ... he said to me, you can't say ... children, I thought Oh, No. Just the kind of thing that's going to be taken out of context.

How would you cope with a comment like that? Do you argue, do you dismiss, how would you actually deal with that, how did you?

I would repeat what I said before about the newspapers deliberately explode the incident in order to sell papers and that many more children die at the hands of their parents, at home's a very dangerous place. We've done a ... about the children dying from the ... and that calmed them down, because they ... that.

You say families, school's important. Anything else which any other groups which are important to the children.

Obviously their socialising. We had a ... community centre, it's run by Christians but extremely low key. The youth workers come into school at lunchtime and they run a lot of activities, take them on trips and things. That's important to the children. But some of them, but the Muslims, they go off to Saturday morning school. They go down town, their friends.

I think most people would say there's a different way the children act when they're in school and then when they're with their family or when they're with their peer group. What do you think's the right way for them to act, say, when they're in school? Do you think there should be a difference between the way they act and the way they act when they're in school?

There's tension there because when I started teaching, especially here, I would always pick up children who were throwing themselves against each other in the corridor and things, and then I would find that it was brother or it was next-door neighbour and you'd realise that you'd actually misread and it was not threatening and just the way they related to each other.

Q Like an expression of affection?

Well absolutely. I got that wrong when I started teaching, I thought any kind of physical contact was bad, but I've relaxed on that. I've got a conflict here because keeping my job as stress-free as possible means that the pupils behave as quietly as possible and move around and treat me with as much respect as possible. And I've got a lot firmer I suppose, but at the same time I don't like to see a very regimented environment. It's a conflict, I don't think, when you're dealing with large groups, you can have things ... I don't like to see the assemblies being so regimented and everything, you know, absolute silence from the teachers, right there at the side but -

Q How would you like to see?

Well I'd like to see a little bit more self-discipline coming from the pupils. It's a very delicate line between encouraging self-discipline and imposing discipline, and we've got to a give a little bit of freedom for self-discipline to come. But I'm not making any kind of criticism, I'm just saying there's a tension there, isn't there?

Q How far do you think it is possible for you to reflect back to children the respect which you expect from them?

Don't understand the question, sorry.

Q You said you liked to have the children showing you respect, and you're talking about self-discipline. I was just wondering how far you could -

You can't. You've got to earn their respect. You can't impose respect.

Q What about respecting the pupils in terms of the teacher giving them respect?

It's absolutely crucial. The most important thing.

Q How far is it possible?

Fig 2 An example of an interview transcript in the study. A part of the interview with teacher A. The answer to the final question on this page is quoted (in part) in Chapter Five

I work incredibly hard on it. Sometimes I get annoyed because I think you're talking to me and saying things that I wouldn't be allowed to say, I'd lose my job. And that's difficult, but most of the time it makes me feel good about myself and it makes me feel good about the way I'm doing my job. I work incredibly hard on it. I will never talk … basic ground rules about the school and I'm sure agreed on, you never comment to a child about other children taught in the family, brother or whatever. I never expose them to talk about their religion. I let them tell me. I never tell them about my religion. Because it would immediately put me, it would just get confusing for them. They'd either like religion if they liked me, or not like it if they liked me, it would be an imposition, somehow. I work incredibly hard on respecting pupils and I think that's the best thing I can do in teaching them citizenship because what I'm really trying to say to them is, I've got a little bit of freedom here, I can wear what I want, I can talk now and you can't because I've worked hard. This is actually what I believe, that I've worked hard and learnt my stuff, I've got a little bit of freedom here, I've got a car, I wouldn't talk about this but I think, what I'm trying to say is, you can have this if you work. Anyone can do it, if you try hard.

Do you think that generally this school is a good school in terms of conveying citizenship attitudes. We talk about your area, the school as an organisation as a whole?

I think the Principal is setting a very good standard. She's very disciplined herself. She always starts courteous in her dealings with pupils. I think the school is slightly … I think we're getting there.

Good.

I think the school's improved a lot in the time that I've been here.

Can you think of any specifics there? Is it a just a feeling or is there anything which you can say, yes that's a lot better now?

Can't be off the record with the tape running can I? (tape switched off).

I think Ofsted is …, to be honest. I went on a head of department course in July where other Heads of Department in RE were talking about their experience of Ofsted. And what they were saying, one teacher stood up and talked about it and she said, I tried new things, I got my paperwork straight, I worked really hard for a year, basically, for the trip, and she felt her teaching, her whole performance had improved. I feel that about myself. I've also gone part-time because I had a baby last year, and so I've actually, my teaching has improved because I've got more time. Sad reflection on the education system I've had to do that. I could be more creative. I think probably there's a lot of that going on round this school. I haven't got evidence of it but I think a lot of people are rethinking what they're doing and how they're doing it. That's all.

You referred there broadly to the rest of the staff. If I can refer to the rest of the staff as being 'the common room', do you think that there is a general feeling in the common room that one aspect of the school is more important than others; is there something which teachers are all concerned about at this stage?

I think what's happened is we're getting a lot of D grades in GCSE and feeling that ... tackle that. We started quite a few initiatives with the most able, and we've always had a tradition of working with the very many statemented children we've got.

What's the proportion of statemented children?

I don't know.

You feel it's a substantial proportion?

Oh yeah. I was amazed when I came here how I had to change my work, simplify my work.

You've got a good section on differentiation in your handbook. Is that a result of that

Probably. I really had to rewrite most, there's a lot of pupils with quite severe learning difficulties, and there's a very good section at the top, very bright. Real mix of children. The worry is that you focus on those two and the middle band bubbles along and I think every teacher would be the same.

Do you think there's anything which could be done which would improve the experience of Coleridge for most pupils. Is there any particular thing which you think, yes that's something which could be done? From a pupil's point of view which might improve their experiences here?

I'm working on, you've seen the development document probably.

I must have a copy of it because I've got the staff handbook. It must be in the staff handbook.

You know every school has a development plan.

I've made a note on the front here to read the development plan which you referred to here, but I haven't gone through it.

I'm working on spiritual development, assemblies, and asking the staff to think about where and how they work on (end of side two).

TAPE B
Side One

So spiritual development you see as a whole school issue?

I do.

How are you asking staff to contribute to that?

I've got a sheet that you're welcome to look at. I've given it to all staff. I've got some responses back and I'm waiting for others. I've also, I introduced it at the Head of Departments' meeting and what I'm going to do then is analyse where the gaps are and … support through enhanced time … of it it's just people a bit worried about what to put in their documents, we'll work on that and then see how it … What we want to do is find out how people feel about it and then enhanced time … want to apply for a grant from Sacre, I've applied for a grant to do this work.

How have staff responded to that?

I've had a few responses back and now sent out again to Head of Department hoping that. I found one or two in the bin. Speaks for itself really.

Perhaps there's one or two staff who are enthusiastic who responded positively?

Jack Morton, Head of Art, said it's the most important thing he does in the school, cultures and. I think it's crucial. I think probably we're both interested in the same things just, you know, citizenship and spirituality aren't that far apart, the same dimension.

Very real dimension.

Academic. Citizenship and spirituality should penetrate everything.

Can you imagine what kind of things do you think get pupils into most trouble at this school. What does the school really regard as almost like capital offences in the school?

I think fighting … very frightening for the staff … happening very fast and it's very dangerous. Just horrible … And then you've got different levels of tolerance amongst the staff about what's appropriate behaviour in class. And different methods of doing things. My approach is … calm … I always try to calm them down. That's all I do. Occasionally of course you get a really unpredictable situation that has been triggered at home or in a previous class or something.

How do you feel about that, about fighting being the top of the punishment league table, in terms of severity, not treatment?

I would agree with that. I hate, as I said … affects other people around, it's very frightening for smaller children, for.

There's nothing else which you feel, well, that actually is more?

I have to mention bullying because I think actual real bullying is ... I'm Assistant Head of Year in Year 7 and we're actually doing a unit on bullying and friendship. ... danger in bullying. It doesn't happen that much.

Yes, I have that anxiety as well about doing too much on bullying. Like drugs education there's a balance between actually popularising and getting the children to get the right message.

Do you think the children actually help to make any of the rules in this school.

... total conduct. Talked to you about that.

The thing that we saw.

I was on maternity leave two terms last year, so I wasn't involved in the launch of that.

When was that done?

It was done the year before, we did it in form time, but it was published and launched while I was out.

How did the children help to draw that up?

We did it together and, I was Year 10 tutor then, and I did a sheet which you can see if you want about ... and responsibility. They worked on that and we took information from that and got it on ...

Was that done as a whole school or in year groups or form groups?

It was done in form groups but it was the whole school, did it in a week or so.

Who then decided if one form said one thing and another form said another. Who actually put it together? Nick? Nick was the arbiter of trying to make sure that

Personally very interested and involved in human rights issues.

Did any form group really say 'to heck with it'? There should be no rules, we just want rights. You should teach us but we don't want you to discipline us?

I don't think so because there's a certain pressure on the form teacher to produce the goods.

As far as you know it was treated very seriously and it wasn't dealt with flippantly by any

No I think it was a senior management initiative, so your average form teacher would take it seriously.

How long did that process take?

I think it took about two weeks. To be honest I can't remember.

You were off then?

No.

You were here for it?

I did it but you're talking about 18 months ago.

I'd be very interested to see the paper which you produced, as well as the other one which you mentioned about spiritual development in the school. That would be very interesting.

I'm going to have to go and teach.

I think I've covered most of the other things.

Do you want to come and see me teach?

I would love to if I may, possibly with a Year 9 class since I've been asking year nines about their attitudes.

END OF SESSION